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the detachment under Gorgias. That general had reached in the night the post recently occupied by the Jews; and, on finding it deserted, he exclaimed, with scorn, "the banditti have fled to the mountains." But Nicanor's smoking tents speedily undeceived him. At the first sight of the victorious standard of Judas, this second division of the enemy fled precipitately. The Jews pursued; in the two routs, nine thousand Syrians fell; Gorgias took refuge within the fortress of Jerusalem; Nicanor escaped in disguise to Antioch, and justified his ill-success to the viceroy Lysias, his employer, by declaring to him that it was in vain to fight against men who were supported by more than mortal auxiliaries.[36]

Defeat of the viceroy Lysias. Olymp. cliii. 4. B. C. 165.

Upon returning from the pursuit, the Jews plundered the Syrian camp, in which they found rich store of commodities, purple of the sea, blue silk[37], and particularly large sums of money, which the merchants, above mentioned, had brought to purchase the rebels in Palæstine for slaves. On the ensuing sabbath, the victors celebrated their success with devout thanksgivings; and, although they were unprovided with engines fit to batter the fortress in Jerusalem, spared no exertion for expelling idols and their worshippers from other strong-holds in the province. In the district beyond Jordan, they are said to have slain twenty thousand Syrians

[36] Conf. 1 Maccab. c. iv. 2 Maccab. c. viii.

[37] Rather lylac, ὑακινθος. 1 Maccab. c. iv. v. 23.

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under Timotheus and Bacchides, and thereby augmented their stands of arms beyond the number requisite for equipping all the warriors amongst them.[38] Notwithstanding their extreme paucity, they were not dismayed by a new invasion next year, under the viceroy Lysias, whose army exceeded by one-third that which had been commanded by Nicanor and Gorgias. The enemy approached by Idumæa, the land of Edom, a name which anciently comprehended the wide deserts between the Red Sea, and the lake Asphaltites, but which was now restricted to the diminutive territory immediately west of that lake, originally forming the inheritance of the tribe of Simeon and part of the tribe of Judah. In consequence of the Babylonish captivity, the lands of these tribes long lay desolate, but were finally occupied by the more industrious portion of the children of Esau, or Edomites, and thence called Idumæa; whereas the stony desarts to the south, formerly the land of Edom, assumed its name of Arabia Petræa, from the strong-hold Petra, the capital of the Nabathæan Arabs. On the side of northern Idumæa, long hostile to the Jews, Lysias marched against them in the pride of delegated power, at the head of an army of sixty thousand foot and five thousand horse. Having entered their frontier at Bethsura, he advanced, with full confidence, to the battle. Judas opposed him with only ten thousand men, but with such resistless valour, that the Syrians

[38] 2 Maccab. c. viii.

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were routed and dispersed, and their camp despoiled of that operose magnificence, which only encumbered its late owners, but which was of high importance to the Jews in executing a design which they immediately formed after this decisive victory.[39]

Dedication of the temple, or feast of lights. Olymp. cliii. 4. B. C. 165.

Their design was nothing less than to recover and purify the temple of Jerusalem, and to provide it with all things essential to its former worship; an undertaking which was accomplished exactly at the end of three years after the abomination of Jupiter's statue had been erected on the altar of Jehovah.[40] In the same month Cisleu, and on the same day of that month, the altar was consecrated anew to the Almighty, and daily sacrifices began to be performed on it, accompanied with hymns of praise, instrumental music, and joyful illuminations, from which last circumstance the festival of the dedication is sometimes called the feast of lights.[41] The splendid solemnity lasted eight days; and, for the same space of time, its anniversary continued thenceforward to be regularly celebrated at Jerusalem, until the final destruction of the temple, thirty-seven years after the crucifixion; that is, as predicted in the gospel[42], before the generation in which Christ taught and suffered had entirely passed away.

The temple fortified

Notwithstanding the triumphant success of the Maccabees, they found it impossible to

[39] 1 Maccab. c. iv.

[40] Josephus, c. xii. v. 11. 1 Maccab. c. iv. 2 Maccab. c. x.

[41] Id. ibid.

[42] Matthew, c. xxiv.

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against mount Acra.

expel the Syrians from their fortress on mount Acra. Its strength by art and nature rendered it impregnable. It had been abundantly victualled, and it was defended by men dreading retaliation for their enormous cruelties. Yet, as it overtopped the temple, and afforded an opportunity of annoying all who came thither to worship, some expedient was necessary for removing this grievance. The mountain of the temple was, therefore, protected with new walls and towers of great loftiness, continually manned by a powerful and vigilant garrison. Judas also fortified Bethsura to serve as a barrier against the enemy, on that most exposed frontier.[43]

Antiochus's proceedings in the East. Olymp. cliii. 4. B. C. 165.

During the war in Palæstine, so disastrous to the Syrians, Antiochus had prosecuted an expedition not less disastrous, into Upper Asia. In the march thither, his proceedings are very imperfectly explained[44]; but in the return, part of the army being left to collect tribute, Antiochus, with a powerful escort, advanced to plunder a temple and rich staple of trade in Elymais, the southern appendage to mount Zagros, and the main caravan communication between Susiana and Media.[45] In this impious attempt to rifle treasures under the protection of Venus or Diana[46], whose altars had been

[43] 1 Maccab. c. iv. v. 60. et seq. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. 11.

[44] Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 66. Conf. c. xlv.

[45] Strab. l. xvi. p. 1080.

[46] Appian. Syriac. c. lxvi. says Venus; Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 11. Diana. The temple violated by Antiochus the Great, Justin calls templum Elymæi Jovis. Justin, l. xxxiii. c. 2.

honoured and enriched by the great Alexander, he was defeated with peculiar circumstances of disgrace, by the inhabitants of the surrounding district[47], and reduced to the necessity of making a speedy retreat[48] to Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There, he first learned the repeated discomfitures and routs of his armies[49]; tidings which exasperated to fury the wounds which his pride had received in the late repulse from Elymais. In the fire of his rage, he swore that he would render Palæstine the sepulchre of the Jews, and precipitating his march westward for that purpose, was overthrown in his chariot[50], and died of his wounds at the obscure village Tabæ, situate near the extremity of mount Zagros on the road to Babylon.[51] In addition to this simple story, Jewish and Greek writers attest that the death of Antiochus was attended with extraordinary circumstances.[52] He was seized with a phrenzy, as Polybius reports, in consequence of conspicuous manifestations of divine displeasure, wonders ascribed by that re-

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Extraordinary circumstances attending his death.

47 Josephus Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

48 Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 11.

49 2 Maccab. c. ix. v. 3.

50 2 Maccab. c. ix. Conf. 1 Maccab. c. vi. Curtius, l. v. c. 13. says at the extremity of the Paratacæne mountains, confounding this eastern chain with the more western chain of mount Zagros. See above, vol. i. p. 14.

51 The Latin and English Translations of 1 Maccabees, c. vi. v. 4. make Antiochus return to Babylon, but αποστρεψας εις Βαβυλωνα, denotes only that he took the route towards that city.

52 Antiochus the Great, as we have seen, and Antiochus Sidetes, as we shall see hereafter, were both slain in plundering similar depositories. But Antiochus Epiphanes first devised a regular plan of sacrilegious depredation.

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Olymp. cliv. 1. B.C. 164.

spectable pagan writer to the tutelary divinity of Elymais, whose temple and treasure he had recently destined to depredation[53], but referred in the history of the Maccabees, and in Josephus, to a just judgment of the Almighty, whose temple he had actually[54] plundered, profaned, and desolated; and whose sincere worshippers he had subjected to the rage of bloody massacres, and the more execrable refinements of deliberate torture. In the work of destruction, he deserved his title of Epiphanes, since in this he was truly pre-eminent above all the Syrian kings. Yet his flatterers extolled his great improvement of Antioch on the Orontes, to which he added the last of the four quarters into which that capital was divided.[55] He also enlarged Hemath or Epiphania, a city south of Antioch, and a hundred miles nearer the source of the Orontes.[56] Shortly before he expired, he devolved his authority on Philip[57], one of his generals, as if he had forgot that the regency of the kingdom on this side the Euphrates, and the guardianship of young Antiochus, had

[53] Polyb. l. xxxi. c. 11.

[54] Josephus Antiq. l. xii. c. 13., says, it is likely that Antiochus should have been punished rather for actually plundering the temple of Jerusalem, than for a simple attempt against that of Elymais, which failed in the execution. This inconclusive argument, in a good cause, savours of the ethics prevalent among the Pharisees, of looking to external acts and events, rather than to the inward purposes of the heart.

[55] Strabo, Pausanias, and Pliny.

[56] Hieronym. in Daniel, xi. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750.

[57] 1 Maccab. c. vi. 2 Maccab. c. ix.

been already delegated to Lysias, his near kinsman. CHAP. XXIII.

Upon the first intelligence of the king's death, Lysias accordingly availed himself of the advantage of having the heir in his hands; placed him on the throne at Antioch, under the name of Antiochus Eupator; and assumed for himself, as protector, the exercise of government. When Philip arrived from Upper Asia, with the crown and signet of his deceased master, he found in the hands of another, the authority which these badges were intended to convey. To avoid the danger to which his high pretensions might expose his life, he fled into Egypt[58], purposing, however, to vindicate his claim to power, through the aid of that kingdom, and of some mercenary forces expected from the East.

Antiochus V. Eupator, and his guardian Lysias. Olymp. cliv. 1. B. C. 164.

The disastrous expedition of Antiochus, his unexpected death, a successor only nine years old, and a disputed regency, were circumstances highly favourable to the Maccabees. Upon the recovery of their temple, and the restoration of their national worship, the humble piety of these successful warriors implored the Almighty that Jerusalem might thenceforth be protected against such dreadful calamities as those which it had recently endured; they fell flat on their faces, and fervently prayed, that for sins too well deserving punishment, God would himself chasten them in mercy[59], without farther subjecting them to the boundless rage of barbarous and blasphe-

Peace granted by them to the Jews. —Death of Ptolemy Macron. Olymp. cliv. 1. B. C. 164.

[58] 2 Maccab. c. ix.

[59] 2 Maccab. c. x. v. 4.

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mous enemies. The unstable condition of Antiochus Eupator engaged his council to grant them a breathing time, at the commencement of his reign. But the peace given to them was reluctant and precarious; and Ptolemy Macron, whom the firmness of their proceedings had converted from an enemy into an admirer, was thereby exposed to the resentment of his colleagues. The government of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, which he had long held, was taken from him by general consent, and assumed by Lysias the chief of the council, as protector of young Antiochus. Macron, being thus divested of his power, was forsaken by his creatures or flatterers, and reduced to ignoble solitude, of all states the most painful to a child of ambition. He terminated his mortifying reflections by a draught of poison.[60]

Unlicensed war against them — its outrages retaliated.

While the fears of the Syrian court ill disguised its hostility to the Jews, the bordering nations or tribes gave vent to all the animosity against them that can be excited by jealousy of neighbourhood, opposition in religion, and the envy of sudden and unexpected prosperity. Idumæa on the south, Samaria and Galilee on the north, the sea-coast of Phœnicia, and, beyond the river Jordan, the whole country extending from Damascus to the southern extremity of the lake Asphaltites, adopted at once, and, as it were, by concert, the resolution of cutting off every worshipper of Jehovah, that

[60] 2 Maccab. c. x

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could be found within their respective limits: and this cruel conspiracy was carried too successfully into execution. The tale of horror roused Judas and his brethren. They flew to the protection of such faithful Israelites as had escaped the massacre. Some they released from confinement and bonds. To others they brought seasonable succour by appearing before the strong-holds in which they had taken refuge. Their success was on all sides equally memorable and complete: particularly that of Simon in Galilee, and that of Judas in the land of Gilead.[61] After defeating the Syrian officers in this latter district, Judas exercised terrible vengeance on the assassins; many of their cities were taken, despoiled, totally destroyed by fire, and all males belonging to them committed to the sword.[62]

Defeat of Lysias and Timotheus. Olymp. cliv. 2. B. C. 163.

The sad issue of this war, which had been waged by his subjects without authority from young Antiochus, or his tutor Lysias, at length compelled the latter to take the field at the head of the royal army. It amounted to eighty thousand foot and a due proportion of cavalry and elephants.[63] It approached on the side of Idumæa, and laid siege to Bethsura, the main strong-hold of the Jews on that frontier. Before the walls of this place, the valour of the Jews overmatched vast superiority in point of force. Above twelve thousand Syrians fell;

[61] 1 Maccab. c. v. [62] 2 Maccab. c. x.
[63] 2 Maccab. c. xi.

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and Lysias, in apprehension of still greater disasters, became eager to conclude a peace with the conquerors, on honourable terms, particularly by granting to them the free enjoyment, in future, of their religion and laws. But the passions which rankled in the heathen nations contiguous to Judæa, prevented them from approving this measure. That they might effectually prosecute the war, they flocked to the standard of Timotheus, the Syrian general beyond Jordan, and enabled him to assemble an army still more numerous than that defeated under Lysias. Judas encountered and discomfited him with great slaughter at Raphon, in the land of Gilead; and many of the vanquished having taken refuge in Carnaim, or Carno[64], the Jews pursued them thither, gained possession of the place, and destroyed by fire the temple of the Syrian goddess Derceto[65], with a miserable crowd of fugitives who had retired into it for safety: After these successes, Judas pervaded as conqueror the country beyond Jordan; and then repassing that river, over-ran with as little resistance the land of the Idumæans and Philistines. In the expedition of Judas into Gilead, as well as that in the preceding year of Simon into Galilee, the return of the victors was crowded by many helpless Israelites, who feared to remain behind within reach of their enemies.[66] To these emigrants vacant

[64] Conf. Maccab. Strabo and Ptolemy.

[65] Conf. 1 Maccab. c. v. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 748. & Plin. l. v. c. 23.

[66] 1 Maccab. c. v.

lands were assigned in Judæa Proper, where ample room had been made for them by Syrian invasions, accompanied, as we have seen, with signal desolation.

Defeat of the Jews. — Jerusalem besieged. Olymp. cliv. 2. B. C. 163.

Having performed a series of exploits equally calculated to ensure safety and to gratify revenge, the Maccabees could no longer endure with patience to behold a Syrian garrison in the fortress Acra, overlooking and still threatening their temple. This thorn in their sides, grievous as it was, they had hitherto suffered to remain, from their little experience as engineers. They now set themselves, however, to prepare engines of superior efficacy, and the siege having commenced with vigour, the Syrian garrison, and still more the renegado Jews who reinforced it, in despair of holding out without speedy succour, sent the most pressing instances to Antioch, imploring the king's assistance on an emergency big with destruction, embittered by every excess of cruelty, to his best and most stedfast friends. The triumphs of the Jews in Gilead and Galilee might already have convinced Lysias of the necessity of assembling a more powerful army than that which either himself or his lieutenants had hitherto brought into the field. He appears to have acted on this conviction, since, upon the first intelligence of the siege of Acra, he was ready to invade Judæa with 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse[67], and

[67] The judicious reader will here, and on other occasions, suspect the numbers; but they are given, in words, at length, not in letters, the numeral signs of the Greeks; and famæ verum standum est, as Livy says in a similar instance.

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300 armed chariots, and those forces superior to his former preparations in quality as well as number. He approached, in company with his young master, on the side of Idumæa; the Jews raised the siege of Acra, that they might encounter the invaders; a battle ensued, in which heroic valour was exhausted, and at length overpowered by desperate odds; Eleazar, the brother of Judas, hoping to regain the day by slaying young Antiochus, drove furiously against an elephant loftier than the rest and royally harnessed, on which he erroneously conjectured that prince to be mounted. Having cleared his way by resistless fury and great havoc of the enemy, he stooped under the elephant's belly, and stabbed it with such unhappy effect, that the huge animal instantly dropped down, and overwhelmed him with its weight.[68] The Jews then made a general retreat to their capital; to which, after first taking Bethsura, the Syrians laid siege. Scarcity of provisions would have compelled the place to surrender[69], when commotions in Syria occasioned a diversion in its favour.

The siege raised in consequence of commotions in Syria.

Philip, whom the late Antiochus Epiphanes had in his last moments named to the regency, invaded Syria with troops drawn from the east, and made himself master of the capital. Upon this emergency, Lysias and his pupil were in haste to move northwards, for the defence of their dominions and the recovery of their im-

[68] 1 Maccab. c. vi. [69] 2 Maccab. c. xiii.

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perial city. By a return nearly as sudden as the irruption of the invader, they regained Antioch, defeated and slew Philip, and dispersed or destroyed his followers.[70] Before marching from Jerusalem, that they might not leave an enemy behind them, they had concluded a hasty peace with the Jews, on the same terms of toleration and immunity that had formerly been stipulated, and, on the part of the Syrians, so shamefully violated. Of this second treaty the unworthy Menelaus, the banished high-priest of Jerusalem, was the bond and the victim.[71] He had accompanied the invading army, in hopes of being restored to his high rank in his country, armed with fresh powers of extortion and murder, alternately to gratify his avarice and to satiate his cruelty. But this object of public execration, one of the three hellenising brothers[72], the prime abettors of all the calamities of their nation, was resigned by the Syrian government to what was called the punishment of ashes, a punishment inflicted on the worst and most odious offenders. It was an invention of the Persians[73], a people whose genius was exercised in the contrivance of barbarous executions to support a more barbarous despotism. The punishment of ashes is differently described; suffice it to say, that these materials, inclosed in a lofty tower, were made the engines of slow and suffocating torture.

Peace with the Jews. Olymp. cliv. 2. B. C. 163.

[70] Joseph. Antiq. xii. 9. 1 Maccab. c. vi. [71] 2 Maccab. c. xiii.
[72] Jason, Menelaus, Lysimachus.
[73] Valerius Maximus, l. ix. c. 2.

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Demetrius rightful heir to Syria — his treatment at Rome. Olymp. cliv. 1. B. C. 164.

The treaty just concluded with the Jews would not have been better observed than that formerly granted to them; but shortly after the suppression of the pretender Philip, young Antiochus and his tutor were called to a more dangerous competition. Demetrius, son to Seleucus IV. Philopator, and lineal heir to the Syrian monarchy, no sooner learned the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, than he used every endeavour to prevent himself from being excluded a second time from his birth-right. He had been sent by his father as an hostage to Rome, and since the death of that prince, had remained in Italy thirteen years. His uncle Epiphanes, by servile flattery to the Romans, had been permitted to reign; but Demetrius maintained that the inheritance of a crown could not be conveyed through an usurper. For himself, he said to the Romans, that he had lived among them from childhood to his twenty-fourth year; that he looked on the senators as his fathers, and on their sons as his brothers; that they ought not to suffer, as it were, their own blood to be stripped of its just rights, but send him, properly supported, into Syria, to take possession of his kingdom. The senate, however, lent a deaf ear to his remonstrances[74]; it was a maxim with the Romans to prefer, in the succession to kingdoms, persons of weak characters and unripe years, to princes twenty-four years old, especially when these princes betrayed strong symptoms of ambition.

[74] Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 12.

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Accordingly ambassadors were sent to Antioch to confirm the coronation of Antiochus Eupator. At the head of this embassy was Cneius Octavius, whom we have seen as admiral in the war against Perseus, and whose name was, after four generations, signalised in his descendant the triumvir Octavius Cæsar, successively the tyrant and the father of the Roman world. The ambassador Octavius acted tyrannically in Syria. He was justified indeed in the harsh measure of destroying the ships and elephants[75] which he found in that country, contrary to treaty. But this odious business, he executed in a most offensive manner; and a Syrian Greek named Leptinês, stung with indignation at his arrogance, seized an opportunity of assassinating him in a bath at Laodicea.[76] The news of this event, so disgraceful to the government of his rival, encouraged Demetrius to renew his instances with the Roman senate. They proved again unsuccessful; and the heir to the Syrian crown feared to end his days in Italy, when fortune made him acquainted with two Greeks, then resident in Rome, who filled him with better hopes, and enabled him to realise them.

Octavius, a Roman ambassador, slain in Syria. Olymp. cliv. 3. B.C. 162.

The first of these was the historian Polybius, with whom Demetrius had contracted an intimacy amidst the sports of the field; and the second was Menyllus, the ambassador of Ptolemy Philometor. These men, united in mutual

Demetrius escapes from Italy through the assistance of Polybius and Menyllus.

[75] Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. xlvi.

[76] Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 4.

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Olymp. cliv. 3. B. C. 162.

friendship, exhorted the young prince never again to apply to the senate, but to trust to their management and his own good fortune for effecting his escape. Shortly after this advice, a certain Diodorus arrived from Syria, who, having been entrusted with the care of Demetrius in his childhood, hastened, in the eagerness of affection, to acquaint him, that such were the discontents excited by the murder of Octavius, the Roman ambassador, and such the suspicions of the army against Lysias, and of Lysias against his army, that should the rightful heir to the crown appear in Syria, he could not fail to recover his kingdom. Demetrius, though a prisoner at Rome, lived there in princely magnificence: he was accompanied by many Syrians of distinction; he spent his time with them in mutual visits and entertainments; and he enjoyed the privilege of hunting the wild boar at a great distance from the capital. Under pretence of this amusement, he determined clandestinely to sail for Asia in a Carthaginian vessel which then lay at the mouth of the Tiber. This vessel, being bound for Phœnicia, to carry the annual acknowledgements from the colony of Carthage to Tyre the mother country, Menyllus, then ready to return home, hired a passage in it for himself and his servants; he spoke with the captain, examined his accommodation, and laid in stores without creating the smallest suspicion. Before the day fixed for departure, Menyllus again visited the captain, and told him that unforeseen events had arisen

which would hinder him from embarking personally, but that their agreement should nevertheless stand good, because he still wished to send part of his family into Egypt, who, about the hour of midnight, would be ready to come on shipboard. The Carthaginian replied, that he also should be ready to receive them. On the same day Demetrius, with those privy to his designs, supped at the house of one of his Syrian companions, with the declared purpose of proceeding that evening from Rome on a hunting party to Anagnia, forty miles distant. He chose not to give the entertainment himself, for his own parties were commonly numerous, and suspicion might have arisen in persons uninvited. Polybius happened to be kept at home by indisposition; but, as he knew from Menyllus every step taken in the business, he began to fear that Demetrius, who was a hard drinker as well as a keen sportsman, might frustrate his own success through intemperance in wine. He therefore sent to him a boy with a tablet containing a few verses from the Gnomic poets, recommending sobriety, vigilance, distrust, above all, expedition, extolling these qualities as the sinews of successful enterprise. Demetrius read, and recognised the author of the admonition. On pretence of a nausea from drinking, he left the company. The other guests followed him. Those, not in his secret, were sent forward to Anagnia, with orders to proceed with the dogs and nets twenty miles further, to mount Circæum, a place almost surrounded by the Pomptine

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marshes, and abounding in wild boar. Instead of following the sportsmen, as was expected, to that place, Demetrius, with those destined to embark with him, eight in number, and each with a single servant, proceeded to some tents which had been pitched for the convenience of their rural amusements, hastily equipped themselves as travellers, and advanced with a rapid pace to take shipping at Ostia, fifteen miles from Rome. The Carthaginian had every thing in readiness, the wind was favourable, and the fugitives had nearly reached the straits of Messina before their departure, though rumoured, was authenticated. It was then too late to pursue them. The senate, however, sent Tiberius Gracchus, at the head of an embassy or commission, to inspect the affairs of Syria and the neighbouring kingdoms.[77]

Syria submits to Demetrius Soter. Olymp. cliv. 3. B. C. 162.

Before the Roman commissioners arrived in Asia, Demetrius had seated himself on the throne of his ancestors. He landed at Tripolis in Phœnicia, and proceeded from thence to Apamea, where his ancient tutor Diodorus, by leaving Italy many days before him, had provided for his welcome reception. With increasing bands of adherents, he marched towards Antioch; none doubted that he returned with the full approbation of the Romans, justly provoked at the Syrian government by the murder of their ambassador Octavius: a mutiny broke out in the army commanding the capital: Lysias,

[77] Polybius. l. xxxi. c. 19—22.

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with his pupil Eupator, were made captives by their own forces, who proclaimed their allegiance to Demetrius, by desiring to know his pleasure with regard to their prisoners. He replied, "let me not see their faces." They suffered the death of usurpers, unresisting and unlamented. Antiochus V. surnamed Eupator, perished in the twelfth year of his age, and the third of his nominal reign.[78]

Reason why Menyllus promoted the views of Demetrius.

Towards effecting this revolution, Menyllus, the ambassador of Ptolemy Philometor, had been the more inclined to co-operate, through resentment at the senate's manifest injustice to his master. Five years before the Romans set a child, without claim of right, on the throne of the Seleucidæ, they had weakened the kingdom of the Ptolemies by division. Philometor, the sole heir to the crown, had been compelled to associate his younger brother Physcon in the government. After various struggles between these partners in royalty, during which the mild virtues of the one strongly contrasted with the savage ferocity of the other, the intolerable turpitude of Physcon drove him in disgrace from Alexandria. But he was still the favourite of the Romans, because his vices were subservient to their interest. Philometor was commanded to resign to him the Egyptian dependencies in Lybia, particularly the kingdom of Cyrené; and when this order was complied with, the isle of

[78] Conf. 1 Macc. c. 7. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 47.

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Cyprus, recently recovered from the crown of Syria, was also adjudged to him, that his domain might stand on a nearer foot of equality with that of his brother. In the course of these transactions, both the Ptolemies appeared personally at Rome; and the senate never ceased to be assailed by the applications of their respective ambassadors.[79] At the present crisis, Menyllus made strong remonstrances against the cession of Cyprus. He proved in the senate, by the testimony of such Romans themselves as had been employed on various missions into Africa, that Philometor had shewn the utmost deference to every injunction from Rome; that he had exerted himself to maintain Physcon's authority in Cyrené, notwithstanding the strong dislike of the country to his character and government; and that, on different occasions, he had even saved the life of a brother, who now wished, by parcels, to rob him of his kingdom.[80] Neither the well urged arguments of Menyllus, nor the strongest proofs of their solidity, could prevail against the selfishness of Roman policy. Titus Torquatus and Cneius Merula were deputed from the senate to put Physcon in possession of Cyprus.[81]

Long war between the Egyptian brothers.

This commission gave rise to a long but uninteresting war between the brothers.[82] Physcon levied mercenaries in Greece and Macedon:

[79] Valer. Maxim. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xlvi.
[80] Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 18. l. xxxiij. c. 5. l. xl. c. 12.
[81] Id. ibid.
[82] Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 18. 26. 27. l. xxii. c. 1.

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Olymp. cliv. 3.—clvi. 2. B. C. 162—155.

the Romans intimated to their Asiatic allies that, by co-operating towards his success, they would deserve well of the republic. But, before he found himself in a condition to invade Cyprus, the Cyrenians were in rebellion. Physcon was repeatedly vanquished; first, by a body of 8000 Cyrenian insurgents on the eastern frontier of the Pentapolis; and next, by his brother on the banks of the Lapithus in Cyprus; which defeat compelled him to take shelter within a fortress of the same name with the river. Being reduced to extremity in a long siege, he threw himself once more on that fraternal clemency which he had often experienced. The merciful Philometor pardoned his offences, enabled him to recover his dominion over Cyrené, and resigned to him certain districts in Cyprus, yielding a large revenue in corn. In this generous proceeding Philometor should seem to have acted, not chiefly from fear of Rome, but, rather from the mild benignity of his own temper. From the age of fifteen, he governed twenty years without listening to a single accusation against any one ever treated by him as a friend, and without putting to death a single state criminal.[83] Yet his forgiveness of the abominable Physcon was cruelty to the Lybian Greeks, and eventually worse cruelty to the Egyptians themselves, since, on the death of Philometor, ten years afterwards, Physcon resumed sovereignty in Egypt, and ruled that

[83] Polybius, l. xl. c. 12.

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country twenty-nine years with the most tremendous and bloody despotism.[84]

Demetrius Soter — his proceedings. Olymp. cliv. 3, 4. B. C. 162 —161.

Upon mounting the throne of Syria, Demetrius was involved in too many domestic anxieties to take concern in the affairs of Egypt or any other foreign kingdom. In the commencement of his reign, he defeated and disgraced two powerful instruments of the late government, Timarchus governor of Babylonia, and Heraclides treasurer in that wealthiest of the satrapies. From his suppression of these officers, under whose severities the Babylonians had long smarted, he obtained his title of Soter, or Saviour, by which he is distinguished in history.[85] At the instigation of Alcimus, an hellenising Jew, and pretending to the office of high priest of Jerusalem, he turned his arms against the Maccabees[86], to destroy what he was taught to regard as a rebellious faction. But his principal care was to court the Romans by embassies, and presents, and professions of the most humble respect.[87] To show his zeal in whatever concerned that people, he made diligent inquiry into the murder of their ambassador Octavius, without being able by any of his discoveries, to implicate, in that transaction, the late Syrian government. The perpetrator of the deed was Leptines, a Syrian Greek and a firm patriot, who could not brook the arrogance of

[84] Diodorus Excerpt. p. 644.
[85] Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 47.
[86] 1 Maccab. c. vii. 2 Maccab. c. xiv.
[87] Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 4. & 6.

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the Romans to his countrymen, and who, instead of denying the fact, openly gloried in it, at the same time that he predicted with equal sagacity and confidence, that no harm would befall him for so glorious a transgression.[88] This extraordinary man was sent to Rome together with another Greek, whose pusillanimity strongly contrasted with Leptines's dauntless courage. The Greek, alluded to, bore and disgraced the name of Isocrates. He was a vain loquacious man, who lectured in public, and whose ostentation and emptyness had exposed him to ridicule at Athens, a place pre-eminent in learning, after it had ceased to be considerable in power. The contempt, with which he had been treated in Greece, made him remove in quest of admirers into Syria. In this country he ventured, in his lectures, to mix politics with literature. The rapacity and insolence of the Romans formed his favourite theme, and he frequently extolled the assassination of Octavius as an example worthy to be imitated. These offensive speeches were reported to government. Isocrates was tried, convicted, and ordered to be sent to Rome, that he might be punished at the will of the senate. From the moment of his accusation he was afflicted with an agony of terror; he totally neglected his person; his hair was uncombed, his nails were allowed to grow to a disgusting length; and when he arrived at Rome, he was viewed as a sort of mixed monster, at once

Leptines and Isocrates, the assassins of Octavius, sent to Rome — strange contrast between them.

[88] Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 6.

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hideous and ridiculous.[89] But Leptines showed himself in the senate with an erect aspect, bold, firm, and immoveable; and, as he had uniformly predicted, no harm befel him, the Romans being unwilling to wash out what they affected to regard as the guilt of the Syrian nation and government, in the blood of individual delinquents.

Renewed war with the Jews. Olymp. cliv. 4. B. C. 161.

Meanwhile hostilities had recommenced in Judæa; and Nicanor, a general often unfortunate in that country, had been defeated and slain[90] by Judas in the great battle of Bethoron. Judas was, in his turn, not defeated but overwhelmed by numbers in an engagement, near Paneas, with Bacchides, who succeeded to Nicanor. In that fatal action, the leader of the Maccabees lost his life; a life most precious to the respectable portion of his nation, and lamented by all of that description with heart-felt sorrow. His body was recovered by his brothers Jonathan and Simon, and by them interred at Modin[91], in the sepulchre of his ancestors. With universal approbation from the Maccabees, Jonathan assumed the office of general in the room of Judas; but the chance of war was against him; the faithful Israelites were compelled to fly, as formerly, to mountains and deserts; and were reduced to the brink of ruin[92], when external events, deeply interesting to Syria, gave a new direction to the arms of that country.

[89] Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 6.

[90] 1 Maccab. c. vii. 2 Maccab. c. xv.

[91] Joseph. l. xii. c. 19. 1 Maccab. c. ix.

[92] 1 Maccab. c. 9.

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State of the eastern kingdoms. Olymp. clv. 1. B. C. 160.

Demetrius Soter, notwithstanding his assiduous courtship of the Romans, had hitherto failed to gain their good will. In return to an embassy that had been sent by Judas Maccabeus, the senate, shortly after the death of that illustrious patriot, and amidst the accumulating disasters of his party, contracted an alliance with the Maccabees, and promised to defend them against all their enemies.[93] Under these circumstances it was time for Demetrius to look around him for confederates among the Greek kings of the east. Prusias II. of Bithynia, surnamed the hunter, was a prince wanting in dignity, and even destitute of good faith[94]; the respectable Eumenes II. of Pergamus, now in the extremity of old age, was the hereditary foe of the Seleucidæ. The king of Egypt, Ptolemy Philometor, had personal wrongs to complain of from the senate; but Egypt and Syria were rival kingdoms, and the former had acquired and maintained its equality, only by truckling in mean submission to Rome. Demetrius, therefore, turned his eyes to Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia; a prince who had just mounted the throne; young, brave, and beloved by his subjects[95], who, though noted for slow understandings, were not contemptible in prowess, nor deficient in that bodily vigour which forms good soldiers. To cement his friendship with Ariarathes, Demetrius sent to him a respectful em-

Syria.

Bithynia and Pergamus.

Egypt.

Cappadocia.

[93] 1 Maccab. c. viii. Justin. l. xxxvi c. 3.

[94] Appian. Mithridat. c. 2. et seq. Conf. Polyb. l. xxxvii. c. 2.

[95] Diodor. Eclog. p. 518. & Excerpt. p. 584.

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bassy, offering him in marriage his sister Laodicé, the widow of Perseus king of Macedon. But this proposal Ariarathes rejected without hesitation, fearful of embroiling his affairs with Rome, to which power both the widow of Perseus and her brother seemed to be still obnoxious.

Artifices of Antiochis, wife to Ariarathes V.

Stung with this disappointment, which his pride construed into an affront, Demetrius was at no pains to conceal his fixed purpose of revenge; and very peculiar circumstances in the family of Ariarathes, enabled him speedily to gratify it. The father of that prince had espoused, as we have seen, Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, who, to conceal her barrenness, deceived her husband with several supposititious children, but at length producing a son of her own, confessed the fraudulent part hitherto acted by her, obtained pardon, and procured Ariarathes, her genuine offspring, to be declared successor to the throne. He, accordingly, ascended it; but to the high dissatisfaction of Orophernes, his elder brother, who complained, that through the unnatural artifices of a woman unworthy of all credit, he had been deprived of his right of primogeniture. The sincere or well affected indignation of Orophernes might have evaporated in useless complaints in the soft climate of Ionia, into which, after the story of his birth became known, he had been sent by his father to reside; but the resentment expressed by Demetrius against the possessor of the Cappadocian throne, ensured

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for a pretender to it a welcome reception in Syria.

Demetrius expels Ariarathes and raises Orophernes to the throne of Cappadocia. Olymp. clv. 2. B. C. 159.

Orophernes hastened to Antioch; explained his wrongs to Demetrius; the Syrian army on foot against Jerusalem, marched to Mazaca; the Cappadocians, partly deluded and partly defeated, threw down their arms; and, notwithstanding speedy assistance from Eumenes of Pergamus, Ariarathes was driven from his kingdom[96], and sent to sue for aid to the Roman senate, the ordinary refuge of dispossessed princes.

Death of Eumenes of Pergamus. Olymp. clv. 2. B. C. 159.

The fruitless aid given on this occasion by Eumenes, closed his reign of thirty-eight years. To the last, his exertions were always on the side of justice, by an uniform adherence to which, in a profligate age, and in the course of a long and busy life, he is more nobly distinguished, than by his memorable victories and splendid conquests. Though he had a son born to him in old age, he bequeathed the crown to his brother Attalus, who assumed, in gratitude, the title of Philadelphus; and after administering the kingdom for the space of twenty-one years, transmitted it to the son of Eumenes, named Attalus Philometor, the last and only unworthy king of Pergamus.[97]

The claims of Ariarathes ne-

The friendship of Eumenes was not calculated to serve the fugitive Ariarathes in his application to Rome, since the former of these princes had

[96] Polybius, l. iii. c. v. l. xxxii. c. 20. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

[97] Polybius, Conf. l. xxx. c. 2. l. xxxii. c. 23. l. xxxiii. c. 16. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 624.

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glected at Rome. Olymp. clv. 3. B. C. 158.

of late years given many plain indications that he was no longer to be duped by the artifices under which the senate disguised its lust of power. A splendid embassy from Orophernes, his presents, and promises, and flattery, countervailed the petitions of an abdicated king, low in circumstances and broken in spirit. All that the exiled Cappadocian could obtain was a decree appointing him to reign conjointly[98] with his rival, a decree barren and nugatory, since, towards carrying it into effect, no levies were raised, nor any orders issued. The first gleam of hope to Ariarathes, darted from Cappadocia itself: and his most useful auxiliaries were the vices of his upstart adversary. Instead of atoning by merit for the defects in his title, Orophernes displayed the wanton effrontery of confirmed hereditary despotism. He trampled on the laws and rites of the Cappadocians, and introduced among that rustic and simple people Ionian effeminacy aggravated by bacchanalian intemperance.[99] His last and insufferable outrage was the plunder of the revered Cappadocian temple, at the foot of mount Ariadné. His enraged subjects took arms; Ariarathes, assisted by Attalus of Pergamus, was at hand to avail himself of their insurrection: the usurper not daring to encounter them in battle, fled in precipitation to Antioch, having previously deposited four hundred talents in Priené, a city of Ionia, long the place of his residence.[100]

The usurper ruined by his vices, and Ariarathes restored. Olymp. clv. 4. B. C. 157.

[98] Appian. de Rebus Syriac. c. 47.

[99] Polybius, l. xxxii. c. 20.

[100] Id. ibid. c. 12.

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By flying to his Syrian ally, Orophernes gained safety for his person, but, from the disposition in which he found Demetrius, little prospect was afforded to him of retrieving his affairs by means of that prince. Demetrius, though at peace with Egypt, had recently entered into a correspondence with Archias, governor of Cyprus for Ptolemy Philometor; and, by a bribe of five hundred talents, had engaged him to make a treacherous surrender of the island. But the conspiracy was brought to light; the traitor hanged himself[101]; and Demetrius incurred the mortification of losing at once a large sum of money, and all credit for good faith among his neighbours. To dispel the melancholy occasioned by this disgrace, by the menaced hostility of Rome, and by misfortunes which, as we shall see, occurred in various parts of his empire, Demetrius indulged lavishly and habitually in the cordial which had soothed his long banishment. To enjoy his drunken carousals unmolested by the intrusion of business, he built, in the neighbourhood of Antioch, a strong castle, fortified with four lofty towers, and shut himself up there, with the companions of his revels, in careless oblivion of his crown and of his subjects.[102] In an age when kings, though seldom qualified to be their own ministers, were still obliged, according to the fashion of the times, to answer petitions, to judge causes, and to

Disgraceful intrigues and drunkenness of Demetrius. Olymp. clvi. 1. B. C. 156.

His castle of indolence. Olymp. clvi. 2. B. C. 155.

[101] Polybius, l. xxxiii. c. 3.

[102] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 3. Conf. Polyb. l. xxxiii. c. 14. & Athenæus, l. x. p. 440.

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assist personally at ceremonies of religion, the total seclusion of Demetrius from affairs could not be tolerated with patience. His subjects complained that they wanted the protection of government, and a conspiracy was formed against him, in which Orophernes had the baseness to join. But this treasonable design was seasonably discovered; and of all those concerned in it, Orophernes alone escaped death, because his person still seemed of importance for embroiling, when occasion offered, the affairs of Cappadocia.[103] Such an occasion, however, failed to present itself; for Ariarathes, remounting his throne, continued to reign seventeen years undisturbed by foreign war or domestic sedition, the friend of peaceful industry, and the only Cappadocian prince who is celebrated as a patron of useful learning and elegant arts, which he was careful to propagate among his hitherto obscure and unlettered countrymen.[104]

Peculiar merit of Ariarathes VI.

The danger which Demetrius had so narrowly escaped did not correct his errors. He still remained shut up in his castle, leaving a free and open field for the plots of domestic insurgents, and his many foreign enemies; Ptolemy Philometor, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Attalus of Pergamus, above all, Heraclides, the disgraced treasurer of Babylon. With this incensed subject, now residing at Rhodes, the three kings entered into a correspondence, and encouraged

Intrigues by which the impostor Alexander Balas mounts the throne of Syria. Olymp. clvi. 3. —clvii. 1. B. C. 154. —152.

[103] Justin, l. xxxv. c. 1.

[104] Diodorus, Eccleg. iii. ex l. xxxi. p. 518

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him to raise up a rival to Demetrius, who, through their assistance and the disgust of his Syrian subjects, might precipitate that prince from the throne. Heraclides, accordingly, discovered a Rhodian youth [105] named Balas, who seemed well qualified to personate a deceased son of the late Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. Balas was acknowledged in that character by the confederate kings. He was afterwards sent to Rome, and well received by the senate. Fortified by such authority, and accompanied by an armed force, he sailed to Ptolemais in Syria, to claim his father's kingdom. The danger roused Demetrius from his castle of indolence: he put himself at the head of his guards, but many of his best troops had already joined the invader. In this extremity he had recourse to Jonathan, captain of the Jews, who after defeating Bacchides the Syrian general in Palæstine, had obtained an honourable peace for the Maccabees. But Balas, who had assumed the name of Alexander, also applied to the same chief for assistance, and obtained it by granting to him, in addition to his military command, the dignity of high priest of the Jews [106]: a dignity which continued in the Asmonæan family upwards of a century, until the bloody usurpation of Herod the Great. Alexander Balas, encouraged by such powerful foreign assistance, and the good will of the Syrians, themselves, hastened toward Antioch

Jonathan created high priest of the Jews. Olymp. clvi. 4. B. C. 153.

[105] Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 67. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lii. Athenæus, l. v. p. 211.

[106] 1 Maccab. c. x. Josephus, Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 5.

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to encounter his adversary in battle. Fortune favoured him to the utmost of his wish, since Demetrius was defeated, put to flight, and, his horse plunging into a bog, intercepted and slain by his pursuers. He fell in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the twelfth of his reign; leaving behind him two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, destined successively to fill his throne. These young princes owed their immediate safety to the precaution of sending[107] them, before the battle, to the free city of Cnidus on the coast of Caria: their enemies either knew not the place of their retreat, or attempted not to wrest them from it, in violation of the neutrality of that small but respectable commonwealth.

Death of Demetrius Soter. Olymp. clvii. 2. B. C. 151.

To fortify himself in his newly acquired kingdom, Alexander Balas solicited in marriage Cleopatra, daughter to Ptolemy Philometor. His request was granted, and Ptolemy, sailing to Ptolemais or Acra, honoured the nuptials with his presence.[108] The espousal of this princess was the only prudent measure in Alexander's reign of four years, during which he exhibited the offensive follies of an upstart, intoxicated with prosperity totally unmerited. At length, committing the government to ministers who flattered his passions and abused his power, he abandoned himself to a life of unbounded voluptuousness: Cleopatra was neglected; instead of a haram filled with the humble concubines of the east, the court of Alexander was crowded with the

Infamy of Alexander Balas. Olymp. clvii. 3. —clviii. 2. B. C. 150 — 147.

[107] Justin, l. xxxv. c. 2.

[108] 1 Maccab. c. x.

ostentatious courtezans of Greece, whose accomplishments, by emblazoning his profligacy, rendered his disgrace the more conspicuous.[109] CHAP. XXIII.

War between Prusias and Attalus. Olymp. clvi. 1. clviii. 1. B. C. 156—148.

Meanwhile, Lesser Asia was disturbed by a long but obscure war between Prusias II. of Bithynia, and Attalus II. of Pergamus, which ended in the ruin of the former. This war, which dated from the first year of the reign of Attalus, and produced no decisive event, had been interrupted by the authority of Rome, the more friendly to the new king of Pergamus, because he had uniformly shown his devotion to the senate, even after his predecessor Eumenes had incurred its suspicion. But Prusias, compelled to renounce force, had recourse to fraud. On pretence of adjusting differences still unsettled, he proposed a conference with Attalus on their common frontier, to which each prince should come attended with a thousand horsemen. Attalus consented, and bringing with him only the stipulated escort, had nearly fallen into the snare laid for him, since Prusias was accompanied, or speedily followed, by the whole strength of his kingdom, both cavalry and infantry. With such preparations he made a sudden inroad into the territory of Pergamus; and, though repelled from the walled cities, ravaged the open country, deformed the sacred groves, plundered the stations of traffic with their adjacent temples, after he had worshipped or rather insulted the

[109] Justin, l. xxxv. c. 2. Diodor. Excerpt. p. 592. Athenæus, l. v p. 210.

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gods to whom they were consecrated, with libations and sacrifices, and all the puerile rites of the most abject superstition. Attalus sent news to Rome of this unexpected outrage, at the same time that he adopted vigorous measures for resisting the invaders, and for retaliating their injuries. With the assistance of many allied commonwealths in his neighbourhood, he speedily equipped eighty decked vessels, and scoured the Bithynian coast in its whole extent from Heraclea to the Thracian Bosporus. Upon the arrival of Roman commissioners to settle the new disturbances in Asia, Prusias therefore showed great solicitude to obtain peace, by consenting to surrender twenty of his decked vessels, to pay five hundred talents to Attalus, in atonement for his late depredations, and one hundred talents to the Greek cities in alliance with that prince. The terms were accepted; part of the fleet of Prusias became an accession to that of Attalus; and the debt began to be gradually discharged by annual instalments. [110]

Prusias conspires the death of his son Nicomedes.

But no treaty could long bind the dishonest craft of Prusias. After the defeat of his brother-in-law Perseus of Macedon, he had assumed the Roman pileus in the manner of emancipated slaves, and using the appropriate legal term, called himself the freedman of the Romans. [111] This servile adulation, though ridiculous to all around him, had a tendency to secure his territories from the immediate grasp of the victorious republic.

[110] Appian. Mithridat. c. 3.

[111] Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 44.

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He was a buffoon, a traitor, and was prepared to become a parricide. His son Nicomedes having rendered himself obnoxious by his popularity, was sent to Rome, and soon followed by Menas, his father's ambassador, charged with the commission of assassinating Nicomedes, unless he obtained, through the influence of that young prince with the senate, a remission of the debt still due by Prusias to Attalus and his allies.[112]

The plot recoils on himself, and Nicomedes II. reigns. Olymp. clviii. 1. B. C. 148.

But for the execution of his execrable purpose, Prusias had employed an improper instrument. The behaviour and looks of Menas, when in the presence of Nicomedes, made the latter suspect that the former had some secret to reveal to him. An explanation was desired and granted; and it was agreed between the son of Prusias and his ambassador, that their king's execrable plot should be made to recoil on his own head. They admitted into their conspiracy Andronicus, who had been sent by Attalus to oppose any reduction in the sum due to him, on the ground that it was a very scanty compensation for the damage which his territories had sustained. According to the plan concerted, these three persons left Rome separately, and sailed to Berenicé, a well known harbour of Epirus, which they had chosen as the fittest rendezvous. In this sea-port, Andronicus had five hundred soldiers, and Menas four times that number; for Prusias, aware of the commotions that might arise on the murder of Nicomedes, had furnished

[112] Appian. l. xlv. c. 4.

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his ambassador with an extraordinary escort. On the morning after his arrival at Berenicé, Nicomedes disembarked from his vessel, cloathed in purple, his head encircled with a diadem. He was met, according to concert, by Andronicus, who paid him the homage due to a king, and placed his soldiers as guards around him. Menas was then at hand to play his part in a drama, essential, as it seems, to the gaining over the two thousand Bithynians entrusted to him by Prusias. He pointed out to them Nicomedes invested with the robe of royalty. "We have now," he said, "two kings, and it behoves us well to consider to which of them it will be most prudent for us to adhere. This question, so important to our interest, will be best determined by examining which of them is most likely in the end to prevail. Nicomedes, the friend of the Romans, is now abetted, as you see, by the troops of Attalus; a prince of the greater weight in this contest, because of his neighbourhood to Bithynia. In that country itself, young Nicomedes is esteemed and beloved, whereas the worthlessness of old Prusias is despised and detested; let us therefore espouse what is in every view the better party." At this proposal, joy gleamed in the eyes of the Bithynians. Menas immediately conducted them to profess their allegiance to the new king, and to enrol themselves in the number of his guards. With followers thus hearty in his cause, Nicomedes again embarked, sailed to the coast of Pergamus, was cordially received by

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Attalus, and, being powerfully reinforced by that prince, entered Bithynia and made himself master of the kingdom.[113] He reigned thirty-seven years, the second Bithynian king of the name of Nicomedes; and was succeeded by his son[114] Nicomedes III. who died seventy-five years before the christian era, bequeathing his kingdom to the Romans.

The follies of Alexander Balas excite a rebellion in Syria. Olymp. clviii. 1. B. C. 148.

In the same year that king Prusias was deposed and murdered[115], the throne of Alexander Balas began to totter. His total neglect of government, the extortion and cruelty of his ministers, and his open ostentatious profligacy, rendered him the object not only of hatred but contempt; a passion still more dangerous to kings. Several of his governors and generals began therefore to turn their eyes towards the son of Demetrius Soter, who, in the late revolution, had escaped, as we have seen, to Cnidus, and in the first stage of manhood gave indications of an active and energetic character. Being provided with a large treasure, which had been sent with him to the place of his retreat, the young prince, named Demetrius from his

[113] Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 4—6.

[114] Appian calls Nicomedes III. ὑιωνος, grandson, viz. of Prusias, whose name has dropped from the manuscript.

[115] His forfeit life, loudly demanded by the Bithynian nation, was not to be saved by the protection of the most venerated temple in Nicomedia, nor by an embassy from Rome in his favour; an embassy which, Cato said, wanted head, feet, and understanding, because it consisted of three persons, of whom one had his face hideously deformed by a wound; another walked lame, and the third was almost an ideot. Plutarch. in Caton. Major.

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father, and soon distinguished by the title of "Nicator," conqueror, hired a considerable body of troops, particularly in Crete, and passing from thence to Cilicia, raised a rebellion in that province. At the same time Apollonius, commanding in Cœle-Syria, openly revolted from Alexander Balas, to whose government he had never been well affected. This general was the son of that Apollonius who had been principal minister to Seleucus Philopator, and who in the following usurpation of Antiochus Epiphanes, being driven in disgrace from Syria, had died in obscurity at Miletus. But the younger Apollonius following the fortunes of Demetrius Soter, son to Seleucus Philopator, remained with him during his residence at Rome, and was one of the eight Syrians of distinction who accompanied him from that capital, when he returned to claim possession of his kingdom.[116] Upon the restoration of his fellow-emigrant and patron, Apollonius was constituted governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, and found means of continuing in that office notwithstanding the usurpation of Balas. But he only watched an opportunity for serving the house of his ancient master, and probably had a principal share in planning the enterprise which young Demetrius was now carrying into execution. That prince at least had no sooner appeared in Cilicia, than Apollonius declared himself of his party, and was successful in strengthening it by the concurrence

Apollonius the principal agent in it — his motives.

[116] Polybius, l. xxxi. c. 19. & 21.

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of all the inferior commanders in those parts. Jonathan alone, who had been invested by Balas with the priesthood of Jerusalem, maintained his fidelity unshaken, manfully opposing Apollonius and the rebellion which he fomented. [117] In a battle which ensued between them in the land of the Philistines, the Jews prevailed, gained possession of Azotus, and burned to the ground that idolatrous city, with the temple of Dagon and his worshippers. Notwithstanding this success of Jonathan, rather honourable to himself than useful to his liege-lord, the affairs of Balas continued rapidly to decline. At the first breaking out of the rebellion, he had shut himself up in Antioch, committing the government of that city, and the imperial district around it, into the hands of two generals, Diodatus and Hierax, subject, however, to the controul of Ammonius, his prime favourite and minister. [118]

Jonathan captain of the Jews — his gratitude and fidelity. Olymp. clviii. 1. B. C. 148.

At the same time messages had been sent to his father-in-law Ptolemy Philometor, requesting the timely assistance of that prince in support of a throne, which, by his aid chiefly, had been established. Ptolemy, with a degree of zeal worthy of a better cause, upon hearing how widely the flames of insurrection extended in Syria, invaded that country with a powerful army, accompanied by a fleet not less formidable. The whole coast lay at his mercy, and he

Ptolemy Philometor prepares to defend Balas. Olymp. clviii. 2. B. C. 147.

[117] 1 Maccab. c. x.

[118] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. l. & Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

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was ready to penetrate from Ptolemais into the inland country, when he discovered at that place a plot laid by Ammonius to take away his life. This odious minister, judging of Ptolemy's character by his own, believed that the Egyptian king would not have entered Syria with such mighty preparations, unless he had purposed to make conquests for himself. He therefore determined, by an act of real treachery, aggravated by the blackest ingratitude, to anticipate, in another, an imaginary breach of faith, which his own guilty suspicions had created. Ptolemy apprised his son-in-law of the crime that was about to have been committed, and denounced Ammonius as its author, not doubting but condign punishment would be inflicted on him. But Alexander, with the infatuation of weak princes for bad ministers, determined to protect, at every hazard, this odious favourite, and thereby afforded just reason for concluding that he himself participated in his guilt. Provoked at this conduct, Philometor advanced towards Antioch, and having drawn to him from that place his daughter Cleopatra, sent messengers to Demetrius, offering to conclude with him a treaty not only of peace but of marriage. Demetrius thus finding an ally in the powerful invader of his kingdom, hastened to meet Ptolemy, and to make his acknowledgments for the high favours intended him. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of Antioch, the Greek citizens of that place, who were most of them also soldiers, mutinied against the

Deserts him on discovering the villainy of his minister Ammonius. Olymp. clviii. 3. B. C. 146.

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tyranny of Ammonius; and that minister, no less cowardly than cruel, was slain in women's apparel, under which shameful disguise he had purposed to effect his escape. His master Alexander only avoided a similar fate by hastening into Cilicia, to put himself at the head of some troops who still made a stand for him in that part of the peninsula. Upon the flight of the usurper, the inhabitants of Antioch invited Ptolemy to mount the vacant throne; he was even compelled by their importunity to wear for a moment the double diadem of Egypt and Syria. But his strong sense of justice, the perfect disinterestedness of his nature, and his long habit of calmly looking into futurity, which taught him that the Romans would not view with complacency this union of kingdoms, made him spare no pains to divest himself of too dangerous an accumulation of unjust and uncoveted honours. He assured the army and the people, that Demetrius, to whom he had recently married his daughter Cleopatra, was their legitimate sovereign. The injuries committed by them against the father of that prince, had been provoked by his own misconduct; and the son would forgive and forget them. Ptolemy also gave the strongest assurances that he would never cease his endeavours to render his son-in-law truly worthy of a crown; to guide, direct, and retain him in the path of his royal duties. He therefore conjured them to accept Demetrius for their sovereign, the kingdom of Egypt

Refuses the crown of Syria, and determines to reinstate the rightful heir.

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being quite large enough for himself.[119] This generous proposal was finally approved by the Antiochians; and the submission of the capital to Demetrius prepared the way for his acknowledgment in every part of the empire.

Battle of Antioch—confirms Demetrius II. Nicator in Syria. Olymp. clviii. 3. B. C. 46.

Alexander Balas, having joined his Cilician army, returned towards Antioch, to make one desperate effort for regaining the kingdom. Ptolemy and Demetrius hastened to encounter him; a sharp but unequal conflict ensued, in which Alexander, being put to the rout, escaped from the field with five hundred horsemen. Upon this victory Demetrius was saluted Nicator, the epithet which thenceforth distinguished him: and to complete his success, the head of Balas, who had fled to Zabdiel, an ally among the petty princes of Arabia, was brought to him five days after the battle.[120]

Death of Ptolemy Philometor—his character. Olymp. clviii. 3. B. C. 146.

In this manner the crown of Syria passed from an usurper unworthy to live, to a prince, as will appear hereafter, undeserving to reign. The only important event in the revolution, was the death of Ptolemy Philometor, who, by the falling of his horse in the time of action, was exposed to the darts of the enemy, and received a dangerous wound[121], which in eight days terminated fatally, in the forty-second year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign. While influenced by the eunuch Eulæus, the

[119] Polybius, l. xl. c. 12. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. c. xi.

[120] 1 Maccab. c. xi. & Diodorus Eclog. ex l. xxxii. p. 519.

[121] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 751. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. li.

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first stages of his administration betrayed irresolution and weakness: but his character improved in vigour without losing its native mildness; and, considering the times in which he lived, and the scenes that necessarily engaged him, he exhibited a singular pattern of moderation and justice, of winning condescension and indulgent benignity. Amidst governments prodigal of blood on the slightest ground of state policy, Philometor freely pardoned his worst enemies[122]; so that historians, the most prone to scan with severity the actions of kings, could ascribe to him no other fault but an excess of humanity.

The Jewish temple in Heliopolis. Olymp. clvii. 4. B. C. 149 —to A. D. 75.

In the nineteenth year of Philometor's reign, a colony of Jews was established by him in the Egyptian nome Heliopolis, a district formerly possessed by their ancestors.[123] These Jews had accompanied Onias, son to the last high-priest of that name, who, provoked at the promotion of the unworthy Alcimus to the highest dignity of his country, sought that justice from Philometor which had been denied him by Antiochus V. surnamed Eupator, or rather by the corrupt ministers of that young prince. Philometor listened indulgently to the expatriated Jews, acknowledged Onias for their high-priest, and allowed them to build a temple in Egypt, somewhat smaller indeed, but agreeing in other respects with the temple in Jerusalem.[124] The

[122] Polybius, l. xl. c. 12.
[123] See above, vol. i. p. 138.
[124] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 6.

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industry and adroitness of many belonging to the Jewish colony, were employed by him in offices of trust and honour [125]; and the Jews approved their gratitude by asserting against his unworthy brother Physcon, the right of inheritance in his infant son. But Physcon, as will be shown, prevailed in the civil war; and his resumption of power was marked by signal vengeance on the Jews, in the district Heliopolis. [126] Notwithstanding this and subsequent persecutions, these Jews continued to subsist with their national worship 220 years longer, until the emperor Vespasian commanded the demolition of their derivative or colonial temple: a mandate naturally connected with the destruction, only five years before, of the parent-temple of Jerusalem; of the capital and government, and almost the nation of the Jews. [127]

[125] Joseph. Antiq. Cont. Apion. l. ii. p. 1365. et seq.
[126] Id. ibid. Conf. Diodor. Excerp. p. 593.
[127] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 30.

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The Athenians renew their high Pretensions. — Delos declared a free Port. — Complaints of the Rhodians on that Subject. — War of Oropus. — Return of Greek Hostages from Rome. — Intrigues of Menalcidas, Callicrates, and Diæus. — War between the Achæans and Spartans. — Rebellion in Macedon. — Pretenders to that Kingdom. — Roman Commissioners outraged in Corinth. — Mummius Consul with Achaia for his Province. — Battle of Scarphæa. — Diæus's Skill in Faction and Ignorance in War. — Battle of Corinth. — The routed Achæans throw themselves into that City. — Its Condition at that Time. — Sack of Corinth. — Achaia reduced into a Province. — Public Services of Polybius.

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Transition to the affairs of the West.

THE accession of new kings, in Syria and Egypt, had been immediately preceded by the demolition of Carthage and Corinth, and the reduction of Africa and Achaia into the form of provinces. The operations terminating in these results, a rebellion in Macedon, and perpetual warfare in Spain and Liguria, had given, for the space of twenty years, sufficient occupation to Rome, and confined to negociations and embassies her interference in the concerns of the great eastern continent. For the sake of perspicuity, I have therefore examined apart the transactions in that

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quarter of the world: it is now necessary to resume the affairs of Greece and Macedon, intermediate countries, which experienced an important change of fortune, before the Romans again passed with armies into Asia.

The Athenians renew their high pretensions. Olymp. clii. 3. B. C. 166.

Amidst the ruin of the Etolians and Epirots, and the humiliation of the Achæans and Rhodians, states that for nearly two centuries had acted very different indeed, but all of them highly conspicuous parts, the Athenians began once more to appear in the front of the picture. Their city, ennobled by unwithering renown in arms and liberty, still enjoyed the advantages which best console and compensate for the loss of the sterner virtues by which that renown was acquired. By the whole civilised world, the Athenians were acknowledged to be pre-eminent in arts and letters, and especially in philosophy, not as now, a barren speculation, but, even at Rome itself, adopted as a rule of life by all who coveted distinction or aspired to elegance. In addition to the high consideration derived from their literary merit, the people of Athens had uniformly cooperated with consuls and pretors from the moment that they carried their legions beyond the Hadriatic; feeble auxiliaries, indeed, in the field, but useful abettors in negociation and intrigue, and heightening every other claim to favour by insinuating manners and skilful flattery. Accordingly, the year following the conquest of Macedon, and in the same year that a thousand principal Achæans were carried as hostages to Rome, the Athenians, presuming on the good will of their

victorious allies, intimated their desire to the senate of reinstating themselves in their ancient dominion over the isles of Imbros and Delos. The senate readily acceded to their wish, only desiring that Delos, situate so conveniently in the midst of the Ægean, might be declared a free port, open to the traffic of all countries, and exempt from the imposition of port duties. [1]

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Delos declared a free port.

In this proposition, the Romans, who were never greatly distinguished by their encouragement of commerce, seem to have principally had in view the infliction of a new wound on the Rhodians. That this, at least, was its effect, appears from an embassy sent by that unhappy people in the following year, wherein they remonstrated with the Romans on the harshness of their proceedings towards an ally long treated by them with equal respect and affection. They lamented that, by the emancipation of the Carians and Lycians, they were deprived of their possessions on the continent of Lesser Asia, and cooped up within their narrow island incapable of maintaining the crowds of merchants and artificers by which it was inhabited. From two cities of Caria alone, Caunus and Stratonicæa, they had derived an annual revenue of an hundred and twenty talents. But a far severer blow to their prosperity was the declaration that Delos should be a free port, which had drawn the whole commerce of the neighbourhood to that harbour, and greatly reduced

Remonstrances of the Rhodians on this subject. Olymp. cliii. 4. B. C. 165.

[1] Polybius, l. xxx. c. 5. 7. 18. l. xxxii. c. 17.

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the customs and port duties of Rhodes, so that imposts formerly exceeding a million of drachmas[2], would not now let for a sixth part of that sum. The ambassadors, then, in a more elevated tone, and rising above the mean concerns of trade and pecuniary interest, declared that all these were but secondary considerations, since the deepest and most heartfelt grievance was the degradation and degeneracy of Rhodes. "We no longer speak freely in our assemblies. Our thoughts must be carefully weighed, and our expressions nicely selected. Not a word must escape us, that, by any latitude of interpretation, can be perversely construed into disrespect for the majesty of Rome. We lament, therefore, O senators! the loss of that happy constitution of government, and that bold independance of mind, from which the arts, the commerce, the navigation, and all the prosperity of Rhodes, originally flowed, and by which they had been immemorially upheld." Notwithstanding these animated remonstrances, the ambassadors, mindful of their instructions, craved the name of ally for their country; a point essential to the prevention of still farther evils, even the usurpation of their island and the demolition of their capital. For upwards of a century, they had been approved friends to the Romans, but never till now desired to be their allies. They well knew the burthens imposed by that title; but the care of their immediate safety made them regardless of

[2] A drachmas is valued at seven pence three farthings.

remote and contingent evils. Humble as their request was, the senate did not soon or easily grant it: many friends to their island sued for them in vain: at length a decree establishing amity and alliance with the Rhodians was passed at the pressing instances of Tiberius Grachus, father to the far-famed tribunes, Tiberius and Caius, but himself of a character great and memorable without the aid of faction.[3]

The Athenians seize Oropus — their philosophic embassy to excuse it. Olymp. clv. 2. B. C. 155.

Shortly after the Rhodian embassy, the Athenians, still presuming on the same favour with the great western republic, turned their views of aggrandisement towards Bœotia, a country highly obnoxious, ever since the cruelties[4] committed on Roman citizens in the neighbourhood of the lake Copais. Not only the dominion, but the property of Haliartus, a city on that lake, had been the object of a petition from Athens; but the demand, impudent in the extreme, had been denied by the justice or policy of the senate. Without the formality of new embassies and requests, the Athenians ventured to commit depredations on the Bœotian frontier, particularly in the district Oropus: the Oropians complained to Rome; and the senate decreed that the ancient and venerable community of Sicyon should estimate the damage, and determine the compensation. Still confident in their Roman protectors, the Athenians absented themselves on the day of trial: the Sicyonians, however, proceeding to business with impartial firmness,

[3] Polybius, l. xxx. c. 1. l. xxxi. c. 7.

[4] See above.

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awarded a fine of five hundred talents. Instead of preparing to make payment of this sum, or offering the smallest apology for delay, the Athenians sent an embassy to Rome, composed of three persons of overwhelming credit; Diogenes, Critolaus, and Carneades[5]; respectively the heads of the Peripatetic, Stoic, and Academic schools. These philosophers were heard with equal admiration in public assemblies and in private circles. Senators of great eminence read, admired, and translated their discourses; the young Romans, smit with an enthusiasm for letters and eloquence, felt a new rival in their breasts to the love of military glory: Cato alone opposed the general torrent: as yet, he despised Greek literature, in which he afterwards became a student; he was unfriendly to innovation in matters of civil polity; and he feared lest the respect acquired by Greek teachers might interfere with that exclusive veneration due to Roman magistrates.[6] At his earnest intreaty a day was at length fixed for giving an audience of leave to the ambassadors. They returned to Athens, after prevailing in one of the worst of causes: so that the success of his embassy illustrates the high eulogy of Carneades, "that he never maintained a position which he did not establish, nor assail an argument which he did not overthrow."[7]

Their success at Rome.

Encouraged by this decision of Rome, the Athenians, upon an ancient claim of sovereignty,

Menalcidas and Callicrates

[5] Aulus Gellius, l. vii. c. 14.

[6] Plutarch. in Caton. Major.

[7] Cicero de Orator. l. ii. c. 38.

threw a garrison into the city Oropus. Their garrison maltreated the citizens. The Oropians complained to the Achæan league, then comprehending all the states of Peloponnesus, although several of them had associated reluctantly, particularly Sparta. It happened, however, that the Spartan Menalcidas[8], a profligate and needy man, was then pretor of Achaia; and, as the diet of that country, out of respect for the Athenians, or rather for their Roman protectors, showed unwillingness to interfere in behalf of the Oropians, this insulted people bribed Menalcidas with the promise of ten talents, on condition that he obtained for them the protection of Achaia against the crying injustice of Athens. Menalcidas, to gain the bribe, readily agreed to the condition, but doubted his own ability to fulfil it. He therefore applied to Callicrates, a man corrupt like himself, long the most conspicuous partisan of the Romans, and now all-powerful, though formerly he and his associate Andronidas, had been held in abhorrence, and treated with the utmost contumely. Even boys, in their way to school, assailed them with reproaches: they were the objects of hisses and execration to the multitude: and during the national solemnity at Sicyon in honour of Antigonus Doson, no good citizen would enter the baths frequented by Callicrates and Andronidas.[9] Yet these men now enjoyed unbounded credit; so precarious and worthless is all credit,

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bribed by the Oropians to procure them assistance. Olymp. clvi. 4. B. C. 153.

[8] Pausanias Achaic. c. 11.

[9] Polybius, l. xxx. c. 20.

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and fame, and honour, resulting from the fluctuation of political party.

Discord between Menalcidas and Callicrates — The former saved by Diæus, a third traitor.

The decree was thus procured[10], of the Achæan diet for assisting Oropus; but, before any measures had been taken for rendering it effectual, the Athenians, apprised of the intrigue, marched against Oropus, and joined, to their former depredations on the territory, the sack of the city itself. Menalcidas and Callicrates, in order to revenge this injury, recommended an immediate invasion of Attica. But they could not again prevail with the diet, the deputies from many states, and especially the Spartans, fellow-citizens of Menalcidas, strongly opposing traitors, who, they knew, were bent on pursuing their own vile interests through the dangers and blood of their country. Menalcidas meanwhile having obtained ten talents from the Oropians, refused to share them with his coadjutor Callicrates. The latter, provoked at thus losing the wages of his iniquity, watched an opportunity for revenge; and, at the expiration of Menalcidas's pretorship, accused him capitally before the diet; the main article against him being his secret mission to Rome, with a view to procure the separation of Sparta from the Achæan league. On this emergency, Menalcidas applied to Diæus, his successor in office, and, with the money which he should have paid to Callicrates, bribed and gained this new traitor. Diæus, by availing himself of the intricacy of forms, the

[10] Pausanias Achaic.

ambiguity of old legal terms, and the undue ascendency which presiding magistrates too frequently exercised in Grecian tribunals, snatched Menalcidas from the hands of justice; but his machinations for this end were detected, exposed, and reprobated; and, in order to divert the storm ready to burst on him, the pretor saw the necessity of finding, for the multitude, some new employment at once important to their interests, and gratifying to their passions.[11] CHAP. XXIV.

Sparta, notwithstanding the bloody seditions which had crowded her streets with slaves instead of citizens, still contained some portion of her ancient materials, the ferment of which agitated and gradually assimilated the mass. She had entered by compulsion into the Achæan league; her pride was much hurt at being levelled with the inferior cities of Peloponnesus; and, by an application to Rome, she had obtained an exemption in criminal matters from those popular tribunals to which other states in the confederacy were amenable. Diæus contended that this exemption, unreasonable in itself, had never been confirmed by the senate; and encouraged his countrymen to exercise the jurisdiction which of right belonged to them, over the persons as well as property of treacherous friends, now more formidable than when they were open enemies. The multitude, ever greedy of power, began their impeachments of such Lacedæmonians as were obnoxious to them: on which

Diæus selfishly involves the Achæans in a municipal dispute with Sparta. Olymp. clviii. 1. B. C. 148.

[11] Pausanias Achaic. c. 12.

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infraction of the terms of the confederacy, the Spartans prepared to send an embassy to Rome; but the Achæans opposed to this design a law, forbidding any Achæan state to employ foreign agents or ambassadors without the general consent of the league. [12]

Violent proceedings against Sparta.

In this state of affairs, both parties foresaw the necessity of having recourse to arms; but the Spartans, as inferior in power, solicited privately several Achæan cities, reluctant confederates like themselves, and even Diæus, the actual general of the league, to interpose their good offices to prevent an immediate rupture. The states to which they applied, answered that they could not refuse sending their troops into the field, whenever the pretor of Achaia displayed his standard; and Diæus declared, on his part, that though he wished not to make war on Sparta, he had determined to punish some offenders belonging to that city, notorious disturbers of the public peace. The Lacedæmonian magistrates demanded that these offenders should be named to them. Diæus named twenty-four persons, men of chief note in the commonwealth. On this occasion Agasisthenes increased his reputation, already great at Sparta, by prevailing on the persons denounced to go into voluntary banishment to Rome, rather than furnish a pretext for an hostile invasion of their country. They had no sooner taken their departure than the Achæans condemned them to

[12] Pausanias Achaic. c. 12.

death; and sent Diæus, whose pretorship had just expired, together with Callicrates, to demand them as criminals from the senate. In that assembly Diæus, his colleague Callicrates dying on the passage, was confronted with Menalcidas, his former accomplice in villany, but now commissioned by the Spartans to expose his machinations. In full senate, these unworthy ambassadors insulted each other with the utmost indecency of language. Their statements of facts were altogether contradictory, the asseverations of the one being opposed by contrary oaths of the other. The senate imposed silence on both, and intimated its design of sending commissioners into Greece, who, having obtained due information on the spot, might make a fair adjustment of the difference. Before the appointment, however, of these commissioners, Diæus and Menalcidas hastily departed, and each with equal audacity assured his fellow citizens that he had fully succeeded in his business at Rome; Diæus affirming that the Lacedæmonians were in all cases alike, to be amenable to Achæan tribunals, and Menalcidas asserting that in no case whatever, were the Achæans to exercise any jurisdiction over Sparta, which was in future to be totally separated from their league. [13]

Shameful altercation of Menalcidas and Diæus in the Roman senate.

In consequence of the falsehood maintained by Diæus, his countrymen prepared to take the field under Damocritus, their new pretor. In their

Fruitless campaign of Damocritus

[13] Pausanias Achaic. c. 12

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against Sparta. Olymp. clviii. 2. B. C. 147.

march towards the frontier of Laconia, they were overtaken by some Romans then going into Asia, on a business which will be explained presently, who desired them to suspend their hostilities, and to wait the arrival of commissioners, already on their way from the senate. Neither the Achæans, nor their general, regarded this admonition; they advanced towards Laconia, while the Romans pursued their journey to the East. By this time the Spartans had taken the best measures in their power for repelling the invaders. But a battle ensued on their frontiers, in which, after the loss of a thousand brave youths, still animated by the example of better times, they were driven from the field, and obliged to seek refuge within the walls of their capital. Damocritus, the Achæan pretor, had he acted with proper spirit, might have intercepted their retreat, or entered the place with the fugitives. The suspicion of treachery incurred by his remissness, seemed to be confirmed by his subsequent proceedings. No vigorous measures were adopted against the city itself; fruitless depredations on the territory occupied Damocritus during the remaining month of his pretorship. At the expiration, therefore, of his office, he was accused, found guilty, amerced of sixty talents; and, being unable to pay this fine, avoided personal punishment by banishing himself from Peloponnesus.[14]

[14] Pausanias Achaic. c. 13.

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Rebellion in Macedon — Pseudo-philippus. Olymp. clviii. 1. B. C. 148.

Diæus, the head of the popular party, was a second time elected prætor. He would have prosecuted the war with eagerness, but his hands were for six months tied up in consequence of the following emergency. The Romans who recently interposed their endeavours to make peace, had been sent by the senate to tranquillise the confederates in Asia, and to keep them steady in their affections, amidst great disturbances that had arisen on the neighbouring shores of Macedon. The harsh conditions imposed on that country by Rome, and the severity with which these conditions were exacted, continually increasing, revived in the Macedonians the sentiments of their ancient loyalty. They sighed for their fair form of hereditary monarchy, where kings, limited by law, might assert national independence, and protect the different orders of the state against mutual injuries or insults. In this state of the public mind, a certain Andriscus of Adramyttium in Troas, appeared in the courts of Asia, giving himself out for the still surviving son of the late Macedonian king Perseus. In Syria, however, the impostor was seized by order of Demetrius Soter, who, to gain favour with the senate, sent him well guarded to Rome. But amidst the preparations for the third Punic war, Andriscus found means to escape from Italy, landed safe in Macedon, was welcomed by numerous partisans; the cities opened their gates; and the fortunate adventurer, under the name of Philip IV. boldly assumed the administration of

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his patrimonial kingdom. The Romans, intent on combating, not the power, but the despair of Carthage[15], were satisfied to oppose this insurrection, by dispatching across the Hadriatic Scipio Nasica, who having summoned to his standard the allies in Greece, with difficulty restrained Philip from making incursions into Thessaly. In consequence of the report made by Scipio, the senate committed a small army to Juventius Thalna, who having landed on the Macedonian frontier, hastened to enter that country, and to pull Pseudophilippus, that king of the stage, as he called him, from the upstart throne which he had so insolently erected. But Thalna's own insolence exposed him to such fatal disgrace as generally results from contempt of an enemy. As he advanced into Macedon without due precaution, he was encountered and cut off, with almost the whole of the troops which he commanded.[16]

He defeats the Romans under Juventius Thalna. Olymp. clviii. 2. B. C. 147.

To repair this misfortune, the Romans expeditiously levied a consular army; for their citizens at this time amounted to 322,000 men liable to military service.[17] The two legions, with their auxiliaries, were commanded by the pretor Cæcilius Metellus, and in consequence of the mission into Asia above mentioned, Attalus II. of Pergamus equipped a considerable fleet to

Is defeated by Metellus, and delivered to him. Olymp. clviii. 2. B. C. 147.

[15] Polybius, l. xxxix. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. xlix. et seq. Plutarch. in Caton. Major.

[16] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. l. Zonaras. Velleius, l. ii. Florus, ii. 14. Oros. iv. 22.

[17] Conf. Plin. N. H. l. xvii. c. 25. & Tab. Capitolin.

co-operate with his Roman allies. Upon arriving in his province, Metellus acted with that mixture of activity and caution which becomes a great general. While he adopted proper measures for quelling the rebellion in Macedon, he found time for attending to the latent disaffection in Greece, and by his order the Roman ambassadors destined for Asia had endeavoured, in their way thither, to stop the progress of Damocritus in an expedition, which, as we have seen, proved highly disgraceful to himself. In the interval of time between this fruitless application to Damocritus and the second pretorship of Diæus, Metellus, in two bloody engagements, totally defeated the unworthy usurper in Macedon; for Andriscus, elated by the first success of his arms against Juventius Thalna, began, as if his power had thereby become impregnable, to indulge his odious propensities to rapacity and cruelty.[18] His instruments were fierce Thracians, who flocked to him for booty; but when he was worsted by Metellus, first in the neighbourhood of Pydna, and afterwards on the frontiers of Thrace, the fickle barbarians of that country showed that they were allies only to his good fortune; and Byras, one of their chieftians with whom he sought refuge, made his own peace by surrendering his supplicant to the Roman general.[19] In this posture of affairs, Metellus sent a message to Diæus, commanding

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[18] Diodorus, Excerp. p. 590.

[19] Tit. Liv. Epitom. li. Zonaras. Eutropius et Valer. Maxim. vii. 5.

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A truce between the Achæans and Spartans.

him to suspend hostilities with Sparta. Diæus, obeyed, and a truce was concluded between the Achæans and Spartans, until commissioners should arrive from Rome to adjust their differences.

Infringed at the persuasion of Menalcidas. Olymp. clviii. 2. B. C. 147.

But in agreeing to this arrangement, neither party was sincere. As Metellus prolonged his stay in Macedon, in consequence of events which will presently be related, Diæus applied to several subordinate allies in Laconia: exasperated their natural hatred against a proud, imperious capital; and prevailed on them to admit secretly considerable bodies of Achæan troops, by means of which, when a fit opportunity offered, he might renew hostilities suddenly, and with decisive effect. But his rival Menalcidas, being raised to the generalship of Sparta, anticipated his perfidious designs, and persuaded the Spartans to commit the first infraction of the treaty. At his instigation they surprised and plundered Iasus, a Lacedæmonian city, zealous for the Achæan league; but had no sooner perpetrated this crime, than they began to contemplate with terror the punishment to which it exposed them. With regard both to men and money, they were far inferior to the enemy: the outrage, of which they had been guilty, must alienate their Roman protectors; they were ashamed at yielding rashly to the mad councils of Menalcidas, who, finding himself the object of general execration, had re-

He drinks poison.

course to a dose of poison to elude public

vengeance.[20] This wretched man who came to so wretched an end, had held the first rank in two, once illustrious, states; he thus had full scope for exhibiting his worthlessness; a contemptible general of Sparta, a profligate pretor of Achaia. CHAP. XXIV.

Meanwhile, the commissioners expected from Rome arrived in Peloponnesus, headed by Aurelius Orestes. The magistrates of the Achæan states met them at Corinth, to which place many deputies and many private persons proceeded, anxious to hear the decision of the great political cause by which Greece had been so long agitated. In a spacious hall of the house assigned him by public authority, Aurelius addressed them in a studied oration, expatiating on the good offices of Rome towards Achaia, and the sincere desire of his country to maintain its amicable relations with that confederacy. But, from the perpetual dissensions that arose among ill-assorted members of the league, there was a clear proof that it had been too widely extended, and that communities had been reduced under one government, whose tempers, manners, and municipal laws, rendered them unfit for any such intimate union. On this account, the happiness of Greece required that not only Lacedæmon, but Heraclæa, a colony of that city at the foot of mount Œta; that Argos and Orchomenos, recently joined to Achaia, and even Corinth itself, should thenceforth form republics

Proceedings of the Roman commissioners at Corinth—outrages committed there. Olymp. clviii. 2. B. C. 147.

[20] Pausanias Achaic. c. 13.

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apart. Without waiting for the conclusion of his discourse, Diæus and the other Achæan magistrates abruptly took their departure, and, rushing into the streets, summoned to an assembly all their fellow-citizens of every description in Corinth. The purport of Aurelius's speech, when communicated to the multitude, provoked it to the utmost fury. The Lacedæmonians, as original authors of animosities likely to prove so fatal, were reproached, pursued, buffeted, and subjected to every insult. The residence of the Roman commissioners, to which many fled for refuge, afforded not protection. The Romans themselves thought fit to consult their safety by flight; and such was the blindness of popular rage, that, when the tumult ceased, it was discovered that many persons belonging to other communities had been, through mistake[21], seized and maltreated as Lacedæmonians. These were set at liberty: the Lacedæmonians were detained in prison.[22]

New commissioners from

Soon after this tumult the pretorship of Diæus expired, and he was succeeded by Critolaus, a man equally turbulent and equally profligate, and still more execrably ambitious, since he burned with desire to grasp into his own hands the whole power and patronage of his country, by involving her in a war to which nei ex- perience nor reason promised a favour is-

[21] The mistake was the more inexcusable, the Lace[illegible] human being easily distinguishable by their long hair and the shape of their garments.

[22] Pausanias Achaic. c. 14. Conf. Polyb. l. xxxviii. c.

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sue. For this purpose, when new commissioners arrived from Rome, Critolaus indeed gave them a meeting at Ægium, and agreed to summon a diet of the Achæans at Tegea. He even sent public orders to the several states for this purpose, but privately intimated to them his wish that these orders should not be obeyed. Accordingly, Sextus Julius and the other Romans, after long waiting at Tegea, were joined by Critolaus alone: he expressed his regret to them, that the deputies of the states, without whose presence no business could be done, had declined giving their attendance; but the regular meeting of the diet, he said, would happen in the course of six months, at which time all differences might be adjusted. Thus treated with derision, the Romans hastened homeward: they had come to Peloponnesus with pacific intentions, and having met on their way Theridas, commissioned by Achaia to the senate, with a view to extenuate the outrage recently committed at Corinth, they had brought him back with them to Ægium; and had there declared to this ambassador, to Critolaus, and the other principal magistrates of Achaia, that the senate had an earnest desire of keeping on good terms with their League, and would, on security being [illegible] ter behaviour in future, forget and [illegible] st injuries: but they returned to Rome breathing very different sentiments.[23] The Romans accordingly elected consul, with

Trifled with and provoked by the Achæan pretor.

Mummius consul with

[23] Polybius, l. xxxviii. Pausanias Achaic. c. 14.

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Achaia for his province. Olymp. clviii. 3. B. C. 146.

Achaia for his province, Lucius Mummius, an experienced but rough soldier, careless of the arts and literature of the Greeks, of which he was grossly ignorant, and who seemed on this account the better calculated to be the executioner of vengeance on that people.[24]

The Pseudo-Alexander in Macedon, defeated by Metellus.

But before Mummius transported his legions across the Hadriatic, the war began from another quarter. Metellus had hitherto been prevented from seconding his embassies by arms, in consequence of a second insurrection in Macedon, raised by a new impostor who succeeded to the pretensions of Andriscus. He made his stand on the eastern frontier of the kingdom, near the river Nessus, assuming the name of Alexander, as his precursor had usurped that of Philip; names which revived in the loyal Macedonians the remembrance of their ancient glory. Metellus followed him into the field, defeated him in battle, dispersed his unhappy followers, but failed in his attempt to seize the person of the pretender, who escaped through the swiftness of his flight across the intricacies of mount Rhodopé, to the barbarous district of Dardania. After thus removing every obstacle to the reduction of Macedon into the form of a province, Metellus renewed his attention to the affairs of Achaia.[25]

[24] Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 381. Plin. l. xxxv. c. 4. Florus, l. ii. c. 16. Velleius, l. i. c. 13.

[25] Eutrop. cum Græc. Pæan. Metaph. p. 89. Zonaras, Velleius, Florus.

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His overtures rejected by the Achæans. Olymp. clviii. 3. B. C. 146.

Critolaus, he found, had succeeded in rousing his countrymen to arms against Sparta, and even against Rome, if she thought fit to espouse the Spartan cause. By procuring a law, that no debts should be recoverable until the end of the year, that demagogue had gained all the needy and profligate to his party. With an address still more refined, he had confounded in one class all those who deprecated a war, which their country was totally unable to support, with Callicrates, Andronidas, and other vile flatterers of the Roman power: men contemptible in life, and whose memories were still the objects of public execration. Through such base but too ordinary artifices, he had obtained a complete ascendency in the Achæan councils, when Metellus, who was now able to march with a powerful detachment from Macedon, sent a new embassy to Corinth. Cneius Papirius, with three other illustrious Romans, explained the object of their mission to the Achæan deputies assembled in that city. They spoke in the same moderate language that had been recently held by Sextus Julius at Ægium, and conjured the Achæans not to persist in measures which must forfeit the friendship of Rome, essentially useful to their country. By the deputies and still more by the surrounding crowd of mechanics and manufacturers, in which Corinth then abounded above all other cities, the modest expressions of the ambassadors were construed into symptoms of fear. Their own courage took fire, and vented itself in

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noisy clamour and petulant scurrility. The Romans, after suffering viler insults than those lately heaped on Aurelius Orestes in the same city, escaped in different directions to Lacedæmon, Naupactus, and Athens.[26]

Their cause abetted only by the Bœotians and Chalcians.

Having thus obstructed every avenue to reconciliation, Critolaus summoned the Achæans to arms. He flattered them with the assistance of many republics beyond Peloponnesus, and even of many kings. But the Bœotians and Chalcians alone appeared zealous in his cause. The former had already rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious to Rome, and Pythias was now their principal magistrate, whose youth, spent in abominable profligacy, had prepared his old age for relishing the bloody amusements of sedition.[27] Chalcis in Eubœa, again, continued still to retain the leaven of ancient hatred. It had served as the main arsenal of Philip in all his wars with the Romans.

Battle of Scarphæa. Olymp. clviii. 3. B. C. 146.

Critolaus, with a numerous army from various cities of Peloponnesus, issued from the isthmus of Corinth, passed through Bœotia, and attacked Heraclæa at the foot of mount Œta, a colony of Lacedæmon, and which, in imitation of its metropolis, had separated from the Achæan league. The siege of Heraclæa commenced with vigour, but had not been long carried on, when news arrived that Metellus was marching through Thessaly. It was soon after known,

[26] Pausanias, cum Eutrop. Græc. Pæn. Metaph. p. 89. Zonaras, Velleius, Florus.

[27] Polybius, l. xl. c. 1.

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that he had passed the Sperchius, which flows into the Malian gulph, about twelve miles from the straits of Thermopylæ. This was sacred ground, on which the Spartans had resisted the Persians, and on which, even in the declining age of Greece, the Athenians had repelled the Gauls. But Critolaus, unmoved by the inspiring scenery around him, hastily raised the siege of Heraclæa, and leaving the straits of Thermopylæ open, retreated southward through Locris. In that district, he was overtaken near Scarphæa by the Romans, and defeated with great slaughter. Above a thousand of his unhappy followers were made prisoners; nearly an equal number of Arcadians fled towards Bœotia, hotly pursued by the victors. Two reports prevailed concerning the death of Critolaus. It was said, that driven to despair by seeing the effects of his rash counsels, he had destroyed himself by poison. But, as his body was no where to be discovered, it is more probable that in attempting his escape, he sunk in the marine marsh between the Malian gulph and the roots of mount Œta. The flying Arcadians were intercepted by Metellus in the neighbourhood of Cheronæa, and entirely cut to pieces.[28]

Upon the death of a pretor in office, his place was, according to the Achæan laws, to be supplied by his immediate predecessor. Diæus thus obtained, for the third time, the command

Diæus a third time pretor — his address in faction and inability in war.

[28] Liv. Epitom. l. lii. Pausanias Achaic. c. 15.

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of his countrymen, and fomented their frantic passions which he had signally contributed to rouse. Many, who well foresaw the sad catastrophe at hand, were yet carried along by the torrent, and augmented its force. The whole of the men and money in Peloponnesus was put at the disposal of the Achæan pretor; the slaves, fit for war, were emancipated and armed; the women divested themselves, and even their young children, of their ornaments, to supply the exigencies of the public service; and, under the pressure of immediate hardships, unexampled privations, and intolerable exertions, the greater part lost sight of the fatal end in which all these voluntary sufferings were likely to terminate. The unskilfulness of Diæus, as a general, completed his demerits. Although his army, assembled at the isthmus of Corinth, fell short, even in point of number, of thirty thousand Romans, with whom he would have to contend, he absurdly weakened it by sending a detachment to defend the intermediate city Megara. Meanwhile, the enemy advanced from Cheronæa towards Thebes, and found the latter place reduced to a desert. Its citizens, fit to bear arms, had perished in the battle of Scarphæa; and their kinsmen, dreading the approach of the Romans, had fled in trepidation with their families and most precious effects. Metellus disdained to wreak vengeance on the aged and infirm, or the wretched children abandoned to their feeble care. He desired even to spare the fugitives, and ordered his pursuers to make diligent search only for the seditious Pytheas, the

main author of the calamities of Thebes. This fit coadjutor of Diæus escaped into Peloponnesus, but, being finally taken, suffered the punishment due to his crimes both as a magistrate and as a man. From Thebes, where the Roman soldiers were restrained from violence or plunder, Metellus proceeded towards Megara, the Achæans who guarded that city flying before him to the isthmus. But the terror which they carried with them there, did not alter the mind of Diæus and his adherents; who treated with scorn new messengers of peace whom Metellus, eager to finish the war, yet thought proper to send to them. On this occasion those unhappy Achæans, who had been compelled to bear arms in a cause which they deemed desperate, had the courage to make one last effort for changing the mad purposes of their countrymen. For this presumption they were arraigned as traitors; and as such, many of them suffered the cruellest and most disgraceful punishments. Those only escaped death, who had money enough to bribe Diæus; for such is the force of habit, that even on the edge of the precipice to which he had brought himself and his country, this wretched man continued as greedy as ever after the wages of iniquity.[29]

Strange enthusiasm and unhappy delusions

After suppressing this feeble opposition, the artifices of the Achæan chiefs, operating on the enthusiasm of the assembled multitude, re-

[29] Pausanias Achaic. c. 15. Polybius, l. xl. c. 2. et seq.

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tained both soldiers and citizens, and all descriptions of persons in Corinth, in one and the same fatal resolution; all disdained the equitable accommodation offered to them, and all panted with joy at the thoughts of encountering and vanquishing the enemy. But, at a distance from this centre of rebellion, there prevailed great differences in opinion. The Elians and Messenians, living along the sea coast of Peloponnesus, fancied every moment that they perceived the combined fleets of king Attalus and the Romans, ready to descend in vengeance on their defenceless shores. The small communities of Dymé, Patræ, Pharæ, and Tritæa, which formed the original germ of the Achæan league, and were ever foremost in promoting the interests of civil liberty and political independence, had lost all their bravest youths in the bloody battle of Scarphæa. This dreadful misfortune, so recently sustained, filled them with deep anxiety and melancholy forebodings. Many fled from their habitations, wandering they knew not whither: some went forth as if to denounce the enemies of Rome; others assumed branches of supplicatory olive, to appease the conquerors; though no Romans were at hand, either to hear accusations or to receive petitions; and others, still more felly frantic, became their own executioners, drowning themselves in wells, or throwing themselves from precipices. The greatest enemy of Greece must have melted in pity at such miserable infatuation and such dreadful sufferings, especially of the Peloponnesians, a

people actuated by the mild as well as manly virtues, and singularly adapted to the enjoyment of rural life in all its loveliness of contentment and innocency.[30]

Junction of the Roman forces under Mummius, with those of king Attalus.

Meanwhile Mummius's fleet, accompanied by that of king Attalus, landed in the Crissæan gulph. His army amounted to twenty-three thousand infantry, with the ordinary proportion of horse, besides a body of Cretan archers, and a considerable reinforcement of Pergamenians, commanded by a general named Philopœmen; a name once connected with the meridian glory of Achaia, and now to be associated with the eternal sunset of that confederacy.

Battle of Corinth. Olymp. clviii. 3. B. C. 146.

The first measure of the consul, even before his whole forces had joined him at the isthmus, was to order Metellus back into Macedon with the troops which he commanded. He then advanced within the isthmus, and encamped near a place called Leucopetra, and the pine-tree grove of Neptune, the scene of the Isthmian games, where the strait, fifteen miles in length, contracts to five miles in breadth, again opening as you approach Corinth and the immediate entrance into Peloponnesus. From his camp, Mummius sent forward a small party of auxiliaries, who, forming an advanced guard, might watch the motions of the enemy. But this duty was so carelessly performed, that the Achæans issued suddenly from Corinth, surprised the

30 Conf. Polybius, l. xl. c. 3. & l. v. c. 106.

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auxiliaries now posted a mile and a half before the Roman encampment; and carried back with them five hundred shields as trophies of their victory. Upon this slight advantage, the frantic courage of the Achæans blazed more furiously than ever. They determined immediately to come to battle; and in full assurance of success, their wives and mistresses, for Corinth abounded in courtezans above all other cities[31], were planted as spectators of their prowess, on the towering eminences which Pindar[32] called Nature's bridge, in the midst of the sea, for joining the states in the Peloponnesus with those of the northern continent. Before they approached in this new confidence, Mummius had quitted his camp, and formed his order of battle, with proper detachments both of cavalry and infantry, to be kept in reserve, and to assail the enemy's flanks in the time of action. In consequence of this judicious arrangement, nothing could be more natural than the event of the combat: by the attack in flank, first the Achæan cavalry, and then the infantry, were totally discomfited; most of the unhappy fugitives sought refuge within the walls of Corinth, but Diæus, their wretched leader, did not cease from his flight till he reached Megalopolis in Arcadia. There, his despair pursuing him, he murdered his wife, set fire to his house, and then, like Me-

[31] Aristoph. in Thesmoph. v. 655. & Strabo, l. xii. p. 559. He alls the profligate Comana, a little Corinth.

[32] Pindari Nem. Ode vi.

nalcidas, his rival in infamy, swallowed a dose of poison.[33]

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The routed Achæans throw themselves into Corinth—actual state of that city.

Corinth, into which the routed Achæans had thrown themselves, contained ample resources for subsistence and defence. Its walls, indeed, exceeded eight miles in circuit, including those of the citadel. This citadel, which had never been taken without treachery, stood on a high hill south of the town, completely securing it on that side; and on the three other sides it was defended by strong and lofty ramparts.[34] From these ramparts, a wall two miles long extended to the Crissæan gulph and the western harbour Lechæum; and another fortification, thrice that length, stretched in an opposite direction towards the Saronic gulph and the eastern harbour Cenchreæ; two valuable appendages, whose commerce and customs had immemorially formed the sinews of Corinthian prosperity.[35] The city itself boasted an antiquity of nine hundred and fifty years, and during the far greater part of that time had been the staple of general traffic, into which the timidity of Greek mariners, who feared doubling Malea and Tenarus the southern capes of Peloponnesus, poured the corn of Sicily, the silver of Spain, the perfumes of Arabia, the spices of India, the ivory of Ethiopia, the manufactures of Egypt, of Babylon,

[34] Pausanias, ibid. c. 16. Polybius, l. iii. c. 32. Justin, l. xxxiv. c. 2. Velleius, Zonaras.

[34] Conf. Strabo, l. viii. p. 262. et seq. & Plutarch. Apopth. Lacon. p. 215.

[35] Strabo, l. viii. p. 378. Oros, l. v. c. 3.

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and of Carthage. The Corinthians, besides, had many curious productions, and many valuable manufactures of their own. It was their highest glory that they had moulded the awkward and unsafe vessels of antiquity into the convenient form of trireme galleys.[36] The machine, by which the potter fashions the most common materials into usefulness and elegance, if not invented, had received its last improvements from their hands.[37] Their fabrics of clotli were in general request; and they had contrived various combinations of the more precious with the baser metals, which being cheaper, and not less brilliant than gold itself, were employed by sculptors and carvers in the formation of that variety of cups, vases, and images in which the Greeks so much delighted.[38] In works of more refined genius, and the higher kinds of sculpture and painting, the Corinthians were indeed surpassed by several of their neighbours. But riches had collected among them in vast abundance what their ingenuity had been unable to create; and no city, not excepting Athens itself, could show a greater profusion of acknowledged master-pieces of art, than adorned the halls, temples, theatres, and private dwellings of the wealthy Corinthians. In addition to these circumstances, Corinth was famous from remote

[36] Thucydid. & Diodor. See for their form, History of Ancient Greece, Part I. v. i. c. 5.

[37] Plin. N. H. xxxv. c. 3. & 12. Conf. l. vii. c. 56. & Strabo, l. vii. p. 303. Athen. Deipn. l. i. p. 27.

[38] Plin. xxxiv. 2. xxxvii. 3. Florus, ii. 16.

ages for the Isthmian games celebrated in its territory; and, since its junction by Aratus to the Achæan league, had been regarded, for nearly a century, as the head of that illustrious confederacy.

Sack of Corinth by Mummius.

In a place amply provided with all the accommodations of luxury, it is not to be suspected that there should have prevailed any scarcity in point of necessaries. The magazines of Corinth were in fact well stored, and the Acro-Corinthus was impregnable. Yet such was the terror into which unexpected defeat threw its citizens, that many of them, at the approach of night, left the place in trepidation, in company with the trembling fugitives who had escaped from the field of battle. In advancing shortly afterwards to the gates, the consul was surprised to find them open and unguarded. Suspicious of an ambush, he did not enter them, till the third day, eager as he was to take vengeance on a place where Rome had been daringly and repeatedly insulted in the persons of her ambassadors. Among his first orders, he commanded the males of military age to be collected in the spacious squares of the city, declaring that the Corinthians only, and the slaves whom they had armed in their defence, should be the objects of punishment. Having made this distinction in favour of strangers, abounding in a place which allured them with so many temptations, he subjected the captive Corinthians to military execution: their women and children were then dragged from their concealments, and heaped together

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in crowds to be sold to the numerous traders, who, with a view chiefly to the purchase of slaves, accompanied ancient armies. The soldiers were then conducted to a general depredation of opulence and of art, accumulated in public and private edifices through a long succession of ages. Having satiated rapacity, a blind revenge was next to be indulged against even inanimate objects: the walls of Corinth were demolished amidst shouts and martial music, and the city being in different parts set on fire, the flames at length united in one general conflagration, which burned so violently, that melted masses of various metals employed in works public or private, ornamental or useful, are said to have flowed down the streets in many mingling streams[39]: an extravagant exaggeration to explain the origin of what is called Corinthian brass, which composition, though usually referred to this period, remounted to a far earlier date, and was the work not of chance, but of very ingenious contrivance.

Achaia reduced into a province — extent of that name. Olymp. clviii. 3. B. C. 146.

After the demolition of Corinth, it was determined that Thebes and Chalcis, which had joined in the same cause, should share a similar fate. The Romans dismantled and despoiled these cities; and such examples of severity, amidst the wretchedness and despondency which generally prevailed in Peloponnesus, put an end to the Achæan league, and terminated the last war of Greece; a war madly undertaken, ab-

[39] Plin. xxxiv. 2. Florus, ii. 16.

surdly carried on, and both disgracefully and ruinously concluded, since shortly after the destruction of Corinth, ten Roman commissioners arrived, according to custom, from the senate, to assist Mummius with their counsel, and to make with him the necessary arrangements for reducing Greece into the form of a province, and thereby subjecting in future that once illustrious country, to the arbitrary and often unjust sentences of Roman tribunals, the extortion of publicans, and the tyranny of proconsuls. This province received the name of Achaia, because originally composed of the states belonging to the Achæan league, although it afterwards included not only Lacedæmon in Peloponnesus, which had separated from that league, but all the states beyond the isthmus to the frontiers of Thessaly, history not condescending to notice the time or circumstances of the gradual extension. Thessaly, on the other hand, was ascribed to the province of Macedon, to which country, when it held the rank of a kingdom, the Thessalians had long been subject.[40]

Polybius beholds the desolation of Corinth and the dishonour to its works of art.

The destruction of Carthage preceded about two months that of Corinth; and it is worthy of remark, that these cities, a century afterwards, were rebuilt in the same year by order of Julius Cæsar, and both of them re-peopled with Roman colonies.[41] The historian Polybius be-

[40] Pausanias, Zonaras, Florus, ii. 16.

[41] Dion. Cassius, l. xliii. p. 238.

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held, at a short interval of time, the smoking ruins of both: for in the third or last Punic war, he had accompanied his friend Scipio Æmilianus, and continued during the whole course of it to be his principal adviser in every difficulty. Next to the general's, *his* glory was the greatest in the conquest of Carthage; a Greek writer of good credit even extols his fame above that of Scipio himself.[42] But his joy at the overthrow of this once proud capital, if such a mind could rejoice in victory bearing desolation in her train, was soon converted into deep sorrow at the sight of Corinth, the fairest ornament of Achaia, now prostrate in the dust. Contrary to his repeated admonitions, the Achæans had embroiled their affairs with Rome, and thereby provoked and precipitated their wretched destiny. Polybius's hasty departure from Carthage could not avail them: already Corinth was demolished; its surviving citizens, collected in half-dead heaps, waited the voice of the crier to be sold into perpetual servitude; its plundered magnificence and inestimable treasures of art were piled in huge masses of indiscriminate ruin, or trampled in disjointed fragments, under the feet of rapacious invaders. Two master pieces of painting, Hercules tormented by Dejanira's empoisoned garment, and the Bacchus of Aristides, the perfection of which had passed into a proverb, Polybius saw degraded into dice boards, and rattling under the

[42] Pausanias Arcadic. c. 30.

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rude hands of legionary soldiers.[43] The meanest of these soldiers, indeed, knew as much of painting as the consul Mummius. It is told that when he sent the most admired productions of Greece aboard the transports destined to convey them to Rome, he exacted a promise from the ship-masters that if they lost any part of the cargoes entrusted to them, they should restore new articles of the same kind and of equal perfection[44]: and when upon a more discriminate examination of the booty, Aristides's picture of Bacchus had been rescued from the drunken gamblers, and sold by public auction to Philopœmen, king Attalus's minister, for the value of five thousand pounds, Mummius suspected that some secret magical virtue must be contained in a small and frail work bearing so high a price: he accordingly gave orders that the sale should be cancelled, and the tablet transported, not to Pergamus but to Rome.[45] Pergamus, however, obtained its full share of the spoils, and continued to display them as its proudest ornaments at the distance of three centuries.[46]

Grossness and superstition of Mummius.

Shortly after the destruction of Corinth, ten commissioners, sent according to custom by the senate, arrived in Peloponnesus, to assist the general in settling the affairs of his province. A sentence of confiscation passed on the property of all concerned in a war which the Romans termed a rebellion. An important exception, however,

Roman commissioners in Greece — disinterestedness and patriotism of Polybius. Olymp. clviii. 3. B. C. 146.

[43] Polybius, l. xl. c. 7.
[44] Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 13.
[45] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 4.
[46] Pausanias, l. xxxv. c. 4.

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to this harsh decree was made in favour of the children or parents of the deceased rebels. The estate of Diæus, and his house in Megalopolis, to which he had madly set fire, was ordered by the commissioners to be exempted from the general sale, and to be bestowed gratuitously on Polybius, himself a native of that city. But Polybius scorned the invidious present, and persuaded many of his friends (for all were not alike adviseable) to decline advantages procured at the expense of their deluded and unhappy countrymen. The worth of his character appeared yet more conspicuously in repelling a strange accusation that had been urged by a nameless Roman before the consul and his assessors. This man, in the grossest abuse of victory, had classed Philopœmen and Aratus with the public delinquents in Peloponnesus, and arraigned them as state criminals. As personal punishment could not be inflicted, he insisted that their anniversary honours ought to be abolished, and their statues, together with those of Achæus, their venerable precursor, pulled down and removed from Peloponnesus. He had prevailed with the judges; and the marble monuments of those once illustrious pretors had already been transported to Acarnania, on their way to Rome; but, at the instance of Polybius, the cause was reheard, and, in his famous pleading on this occasion, the obligations of patriotism and honour were sounded by him in so high a strain, that the unworthy sentence was reversed, and men no longer branded as enemies to Rome,

because they had been less zealous for the interests of that foreign commonwealth than for the safety and independence of their native country.[47] By thus vindicating the fair fame of the dead, Polybius indirectly benefited the living. The statues of Philopœmen and Aratus, while they adorned every city of Peloponnesus, reminded the Achæans that they had once been a bold and free people; and the same glorious monuments could not fail to impose some salutary restraints on the Romans themselves, little influenced by justice, but still alive to shame and reproach.

His great public services to Achaia.

The exertions of Polybius were directed to still more substantial services. The consideration which, through his authority with Scipio, he enjoyed, with every Roman of worth or dignity, and his intimate acquaintance with the interests and feelings both of Achaia and of Rome, made his interference highly acceptable to the consul Mummius and his assessors, in the final arrangement of affairs. Without any other commission than that conferred on him by the voice of public respect and admiration, he thus performed to general satisfaction the difficult and delicate task of adjusting the political relations between the two countries, in the manner best calculated to moderate power on the one hand, and to restrain rebellion on the other. The subsequent tranquillity of Greece was thought to attest the efficaciousness of his

[47] Polybius, l. xl. c. 7. et seq.

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labours. With this testimony concurred that of his numerous statues in Pallantium, Tegæa, Mantinæa, Acacesius, and other cities of Peloponnesus, all bearing honourable inscriptions, and particularly that "Polybius formed the chief resource of his country, amidst calamities which she had incurred by rashly despising his advice." [48].

His future labours.

When his abilities were thus dexterously exerted, Polybius was in his fifty-sixth year, the age, nearly, which Aristotle assigns as that best adapted to government, in respect of talents, experience, and above all of temper. He lived to the age of eighty-two, and died then in consequence of a fall from his horse. [49] The last twenty years of his life were devoted to the composition of his history in forty books, of which only five have come down to us entire. His main subject is to explain how, from the commencement of the second Punic war, the Romans, in the course of fifty-three years, made themselves masters of the world. In this expression, Polybius adopted the language of the times, confounding the habitable world with the limits of the Roman dominion. Yet we shall see presently, that, amidst the crimes and calamities of Greek kingdoms, a great Barbarian power arose in the East, which, having usurped the widest and richest division of Alexander's empire, always defied, and often disgraced the Roman arms.

[48] Pausanius Arcadic. c. 37.

[49] Lucian in Macrob.

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Moral effects of the wars with Greece.

From the end of the second Punic war to the sack of Corinth, the Romans had, for half a century, been perpetually engaged with Greece, or her colonies, in war or negociation. This long intercourse approximated the two nations in knowledge and refinement, while the opposite extremes of fortune, dominion on one side, and subjection on the other, rendered them obnoxious, respectively, to contrary vices; the Romans to pride, usurpation, and violence; the Greeks to vanity, flattery, and fraud. This proneness to degeneracy, the result of external circumstances, was not counteracted by any efficacious internal spring. Respect for magistrates, veneration for laws, fear of the gods, principles conspicuously operative in the earliest and best times of the ancient commonwealths, had now lost their vigour. Religion had been disjoined from morality; and the latter had thereby been deprived of its sole sanction with the many, and of its best and firmest sanction with all. The superior classes, those affecting taste and elegance, professed, for their rule of life, some philosophical system; but these systems were so different from each other, and the tenets of each were so differently explained, that they left the mind in doubt and perplexity, wrought on the understanding no steady conviction, and were thus altogether ineffectual against the allurements of pleasure, the irritations of anger, the seduction of ambition; in one word, against the impulse of a false and short-sighted selfishness. There was not any definite rule to which men

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could look for direction; nor any fixed habits of thinking derived from unvarying and venerated institutions, perpetually recalling those great maxims of piety, and patriotism, and equal justice, on which alone respectable and prosperous communities can be built or supported.

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Ptolemy Physcon and his Minister Hierax. — Diodotus's Intrigues in Syria. — Antiochus VI. *— Confederacy of Pirates. — Their Traffick in Slaves. — Corruptions thereby introduced into Rome. — Diodotus, Emperor and King. — State of neighbouring Powers. — Mithridates* V. *of Pontus. — A greater Mithridates among the Parthians. — Their Manners and Institutions. — Destruction of the Greek Kingdom of Bactria. — Mithridates* II. *of Parthia. — Contemporary Greek Kings, their universal Infamy. — Pergamus and Cyrené bequeathed to the Romans. — Syria annexed to Armenia. — Reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus. — Arts and Letters.*

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Ptolemy Physcon remounts the throne of Egypt. Olymp. clviii. 4. B. C. 145.

THE battle of Antioch raised Demetrius II. surnamed Nicator to the throne of Syria, on which his injustice and cruelty soon proved him unworthy to sit, and precipitated to an untimely grave his partner in victory, Ptolemy VI. surnamed Philometor, the most commendable in point of honesty and humanity, of all the Greek kings of the East. By his wife and sister Cleopatra, Philometor left behind him an infant son, but had unfortunately carried into Syria the flower of the Egyptian army, whose presence, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, could alone have defended the rights of that ill-fated child against his uncle Ptolemy Physcon. This prince

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who, after disputing a great kingdom with his brother, had never been satisfied with the award of Cyrené and part of Cyprus to himself, entered Egypt with a band of Cretan and other mercenaries, made his way by victories to Alexandria, gained admittance into that capital, forcibly[1] espoused the widow of his deceased brother, and, on the day of those abominable nuptials, stabbed the only child of Philometor in the arms of his mother.[2]

His able minister Hierax.

This enormity formed a fit prelude to his bloody drama of twenty-nine years, a length of reign which appeared to contemporaries to reproach the cowardice of his subjects; for, in arbitrary governments, where no principle of reason or custom operated in defence of the people, their only resource lay in secret conspiracy, or open rebellion: and tame as the Egyptians in that age are described[3], their oppressions must have recoiled on the tyrant, had not good fortune procured for him the assistance of an artful and able minister. Under the impostor Alexander Balas, we have seen Hierax and Diodotus, two Syrian Greeks, commanding conjointly in Antioch. The former of these Greeks, upon the ruin of Balas, sought protection and employment in Egypt. Physcon, who knew the services of Hierax to one usurper,

[1] Sororem natu majorem communi fratri nuptam, sibi nubere coegit. Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 1.

[2] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. p. 1365, et seq.

[3] Polybius, l. xl. c. 12.

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thought him the fittest person to support the throne of another: he entrusted him with the chief direction of his affairs; and, amidst the capricious cruelties of the prince, the government was upheld by the vigilance and energy of the minister.[4]

Diodotus's intrigues in Syria.

While Hierax acted this important part in Egypt, his former associate Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon "the luxurious," distinguished himself still more conspicuously in Syria. The order of succession to that kingdom had been confounded inextricably by the usurpation of Antiochus Epiphanes; for the Syrians, through a mistaken loyalty, were inclined to constitute a title, in consequence of a short possession, and to maintain a right of inheritance in him whose father, however unjustly, had worn the crown. In this manner, Alexander Balas, pretending to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, had dethroned the first Demetrius surnamed Soter: a new pretender deriving descent from Balas, might prove equally successful against the second Demetrius, notwithstanding his pompous title of Nicator. Diodotus, who well perceived the practicability of such a scheme[5], contrived to get into his power a boy, the son of Balas, who had remained in the family of Zabdiel, the same Arabian prince, with whom his father had taken refuge. With this instrument of seduction in his hands, Diodotus rejoiced at the accumulating follies by which Demetrius Nicator alienated

[4] Diodor. Excerp. p. 597.

[5] 1 Maccab. c. 12.

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all classes of his subjects, not excepting the army. Trusting solely to mercenaries collected chiefly from Crete and other Grecian isles, he disbanded the whole of the national troops, who had hitherto been retained, even during peace, in constant and full pay.[6] Lasthenes, the leader of his Cretans, trampled on the Antiochians and other inhabitants of the Syrian cities.[7] The Jews, a people inured to perpetual warfare, were provoked to arms by ingratitude and perfidy. To procure their aid against an insurrection in Antioch, Demetrius courted their high-priest and general Jonathan, with the promise of exemption from tribute, and of annexing to Judæa the three districts of Apherema, Lydda, and Ramatha, which then belonged to the Samaritans. But having reduced the Antiochians by destroying, it is said, a hundred thousand of those industrious though occasionally turbulent citizens, he violated his engagements with the Jewish commander, and prepared to renew and aggravate towards that nation the worst outrages inflicted by his predecessors.[8]

Their success promoted by the ill-policy of Demetrius Nicator.

Diodotus proclaims Antiochus VI. Olymp. clix. 1. B. C. 144.

At this crisis Diodotus appeared, proclaiming the son of Alexander Balas, and the grandson of Antiochus Epiphanes, as the rightful king of Syria.[9] He was immediately joined by many privy to his conspiracy, and gradually reinforced by innumerable malecontents from all parts of the country, who received their young king Antio-

[6] Joseph. l. xiii. c. 8. [7] Diodor. Excerp. p. 592.
[8] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. c. 11.
[9] Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lii.

chus VI. under the title of Epiphanes, inherited from his grandfather, and that of Bacchus, bestowed on him by his adherents to express his fine countenance and elegant figure.[10] Demetrius was obliged to fight for his kingdom. The loss of a battle near Antioch compelled him to abandon that capital. The neighbouring cities on the sea-coast still maintained their allegiance; and in the principal and strongest of them, Seleucia Pieria, he shut himsef up with his guards, leaving the inland country to provide for its own defence, or submit to the enemy.[11] Diodotus, it should seem, might have pursued his good fortune, laid siege to Seleucia, taken the place, and made Demetrius his prisoner. But, before the invention of gunpowder, the imperfection of battering engines left the art of attack far behind that of defence. Sensible that all attempts for making himself master of Seleucia would prove fruitless, Diodotus had recourse to other modes of warfare. To gain the Jews, in whose neighbourhood many cities adhered to the cause of Demetrius, he granted to them the toparchies or districts, which that prince had fraudulently withheld from them: he sent many honourable presents to Jonathan, and appointed his brother, Simon, commander of Antiochus's forces from the frontier of Egypt to the *ladder* of Tyre, a mountain so called nearly midway between Tyre and Ptolemais. The Jews, on their part, extended their arms

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Demetrius defeated; shuts himself up in Seleucia Pieria.

Diodotus gains the Jews to the interest of Antiochus VI.

[10] These titles appear on medals: Josephus Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7. calls him θεος, meaning thereby the god Bacchus.

[11] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lii.

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from the confines of Damascus to those of the Nabathæan desert. They expelled hostile garrisons from Gaza, Bethsura, and Joppa.[12] Only the heathen fortress of Jerusalem, which held out for Demetrius, still presented obstacles not to be surmounted by their prowess.

Diodotus excites the pirates against the maritime cities of Syria. Olymp. clix. 1. B. C. 144.

Another expedient which Diodotus adopted for distressing his adversary, was to cut off his indispensable resources in the maritime parts of Syria. Notwithstanding the perturbed state of that kingdom, Seleucia, Laodicæa, Aradus, Tripolis, and Tyre, carried on a rich commerce by sea, nourished, as will be seen presently, by a great caravan trade through the central regions of Asia. For ruining this traffic, Diodotus armed pirates, chiefly Cilicians, and formed the harbour of Coracesium on the western frontier of Cilicia, into their common arsenal and strong-hold. To this period, accordingly, history assigns the commencement[13] of the great piratical confederacy in Lesser Asia, which grew up in the course of five years under the fostering care of Diodotus, and lasted seventy-two years until the Cilicians were defeated by Pompey, pursued to their inmost receptacles, and finally reduced to subjection, though not to desperation, by the conqueror, since he assigned to them lands to cultivate in the inland country and effectually estranged them in future from their roving life and fierce predatory habits.[14]

[12] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. c. 11.
[13] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 668.
[14] Appian, de Bell. Mithridat. c. 94—96.

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From the era of their formation by Diodotus, the piratical associations in Cilicia rendered themselves formidable. They not only swept the seas and deformed the coasts, but carried their baneful rapacity into the inland territory. Slaves constituted one of the principal objects of their pursuit, whom they were alike ready to acquire either by purchase or by robbery. The warfare in Syria was thus exasperated by the desire of making prisoners, who were carried to a sure and ready market in the central isle of Delos, where the Romans[15], enriched by the recent spoils of Carthage and Corinth, were the buyers, the Cilicians the sellers, and the persons of captive Syrians[16] the unhappy merchandise. In Delos ten thousand Syrian slaves might find purchasers in a single day.[17] This infusion of Asiatic blood into Italy produced evils there, which Tiberius Gracchus in vain attempted to remedy. He was slain urging his agrarian law only ten years after the establishment of the slave market at Delos. The right of private property, of which Gracchus, in his proposed partition of lands, was altogether careless, forms indeed the main pillar of civil society: yet it cannot be doubted that the accumulation of estates among the few, and the consequent abuse

Their formidable power. — Slave-market at Delos. Olymp. clix. 2. B. C. 143.

Great corruptions thereby introduced at Rome, vainly opposed by Tiberius Gracchus.

15 Strabo, l. xiv. p. 668. 699.

16 Jampridem in Tiberim Syrus defluxit Orontes.

And again,

Cur timeam? dubitemque locum defendere? quamvis
Natus ad Euphratem, molles quod in aures fenestræ
Arguerint, licet ipse negem. Juvenal.

17 Strabo, ibid.

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of exorbitant wealth, filled Italy with slaves instead of citizens; destroyed the habits of rural industry among the people at large; and, leaving only rich masters at the head of numerous and profligate servants, gradually rooted out those middle classes of men which constitute the strength, the worth, and the best hopes of every well regulated commonwealth. [18]

Diodotus's execrable projects; the murder of his pupil Antiochus VI. Dionysus.

The success which Diodotus acquired by his Cilicians at sea, and on land chiefly through his Jewish allies, encouraged him to the execution of a most execrable project. This was to destroy the youth whom he had crowned under the name of Antiochus VI. and to assume in his own person the same royal prerogatives which he had exercised nearly two years for another.

Prepares for this measure by destroying the faithful Jonathan.

One obstacle only lay in his way. The Jews, and particularly their priest and general, Jonathan, had espoused with equal zeal and sincerity the cause of the young prince. Accordingly, Diodotus perceived the necessity of making Jonathan his first victim. For this purpose, he decoyed the Jewish chief to an interview at Ptolemais, and detained him there, after putting to death a thousand soldiers by whom he had been escorted. Having thus in his power the ornament and defence of the nation, he prepared to invade Judæa with a great army; when, finding that Simon, the last of the Asmonæan brethren, had been appointed to supply the place of Jonathan, he sent notice to the Jews that their general remained in perfect safety, and would

[18] Plutarch. in Vit. Gracchor.

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be immediately set at liberty, provided Simon remitted a hundred talents due to king Antiochus, and also surrendered Jonathan's two sons as hostages. Though Simon saw the deceitfulness of this proposal, he ventured not to reject it, lest he should expose himself to the imputation of indifference about his brother's freedom.[19] He therefore sent the money and the hostages; but no Jonathan came back in return. Diodotus, on the contrary, while he kept the Jewish captain in chains, approached Jerusalem with an army. Meanwhile the heathen fortress there, being hardly pressed by Simon, could not expect any assistance from Demetrius, who had quitted the strong-hold of Seleucia for the more voluptuous city of Laodicæa, and was there consoling himself amidst feasting and revelry, for the loss of half his kingdom. The Syrians, in their besieged fortress, contrived means, therefore, of applying to Diodotus, who hastened to their relief at the head of his cavalry. His progress to Jerusalem was interrupted by a heavy fall of snow among the mountains north of that city, which compelled him to retreat towards his winter quarters through the land of Gilead. At Bascama, in that district, his angry disappointment vented itself in the murder of Jonathan[20]; and shortly afterwards in that of Antiochus Dionysus. To save appearances, the unhappy youth was subjected unnecessarily to the operation of cutting for the stone[21]: he died under

Diodotus assumes the diadem as

[19] 1 Maccab. c. xiii.

[20] Id. ibid.

[21] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12.

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the hands of a suborned surgeon; and Diodotus, with the name of Tryphon, assumed the diadem, joining to the title of king that of autocrator[22] or emperor.

emperor and king. Olymp. clix. 2. B. C. 143.

This usurpation he successfully defended against the generals of Demetrius, while that thoughtless prince remained inactive at Laodicæa, in the delirium of wine and pleasure. On an occasion when the forces of Demetrius, commanded by Sarpedon, made an inroad into the country between Tyre and Ptolemais, they were resisted and put to flight by Tryphon, at the head of the garrison from the latter city. But the victors, while they urged the pursuit, were overwhelmed on the coast of Ptolemais by a sudden inundation, occasioned probably by the explosion of a submarine volcano[23], which, on the retreat of the flood, left many of them drowned in hollows of the shore, and mingled with vast quantities of fish which the sea had disgorged. Tryphon was in the number of those who escaped this memorable disaster, the scene of which was quickly revisited by Sarpedon. He received the fishes as a present from heaven, and performed grateful sacrifices to Neptune, who, by seasonably intercepting the enemy[24],

Inundation of the sea on the coast of Ptolemais.

[22] Αυτοκρατώρ, "habens per se imperium," peculiar to the coins of Tryphon, and the more naturally adopted by him, because the initials of his name, as guardian to Antiochus VI., had already appeared on the coins of that unfortunate child.

[23] Strabo mentions the event simply, l. xvi. p. 758. among other inexplicable phenomena.

[24] Ποσειδωνι τροπαιφ. Athenæus, l. viii. p. 333. The words, however, may be differently translated.

had averted the total destruction with which his discomfited army was threatened.

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Immediately on this event, the Jews sent a crown of gold to Demetrius. He granted what he had no power to withhold, complete liberty to their nation, and contracted an alliance with Simon on terms of perfect equality. Shortly afterwards, the heathen fortress, overlooking the Jewish capital, surrendered: Simon, in a progress through the country, expelled many hellenising rebels from Gadara, strongly fortified Bethsura on the southern frontier, and constructed the harbour of Joppa, a place forty miles from Jerusalem, which has continued to the present times the principal sea-port in Palæstine. As he maintained in all things the character of independent sovereignty, assumed in his recent treaty with Demetrius[25], the Jews ceased to date their transactions by the years of the Syrian kings, and substituted those of their own high-priest Simon; a mode of computation thenceforward perpetuated under his successors.

Simon independent prince of the Jews. Olymp. clix. 2. B. C. 143.

Tryphon, to counterbalance the weight of the Jews, his neighbours, thus thrown into the scale of his adversary, sent a submissive embassy to Rome, breathing professions of unalterable fidelity, and conveying the present of a golden victory, weighing 10,000 aurei[26], yet more precious for the workmanship than the materials. The Romans did not reject a gift which came in so auspicious a form, but agreeably to the favour

Tryphon's golden victory accepted at Rome, but the giver treated contemptuously.

[25] 1 Maccab. c. xiv

[26] About 3000*l.* in value.

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which they had shown to Antiochus Epiphanes, they caused the name of his supposed descendant, the murdered Antiochus VI. to be engraved on the statue of the goddess.[27] In this manner they showed their impartial contempt for the rivals, Tryphon and Demetrius Nicator, in whose civil war they had determined not to take any part.

State of the powers of Asia. Olymp. clx. B. C. 142.

Thus rejected by the Romans, the Syrian competitors could not entertain better hopes of assistance, either from the states of Lower Asia on one side, or from the greater powers of the East on the other. The house of Seleucus was still respected, indeed, in all parts of its ancient hereditary domain; and his successors still garrisoned many strong cities from Antioch to Seleucia-Babylonia, possessed many rich treasuries, and retained claims of dominion or supremacy over many revolted provinces.[28] The tribute of those provinces, and the great inland commerce, which connected them with each other, had long centered in Syria Proper, particularly in Antioch and the imperial district around it. Thus supplied with money, the Syrian kings could always find mercenaries in neighbouring and remote countries; and might yet entertain hope, under favourable circumstances, of re-establishing the empire. But no circumstances could be more unfavourable than those in which they were placed at the era of the Jewish emancipation. The throne was then disputed between two rancorous rivals: the powers of the west were

[27] Diodor. Excerp. Legat. 629. [28] Appian. de Reb. Syriac.

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unable or unwilling to interpose with authority; and those in the East had become too powerful to regard with much concern a distant warfare in Syria. The influence of these causes was strengthened by the personal characters of the princes reigning, at this period, between the Grecian sea and the Indus. Towards the front of the peninsula, Attalus II. still ruled in Pergamus, but the enterprising activity of his youth began to be followed by an indolent old age, and he finally resigned himself to the guidance of his favourite and minister Philopœmen.[29] Nicomenes II. of Bithynia had dethroned, as we have seen, his father Prusias the hunter, a tyrant equally contemptible and odious. But the condition of the Bithynians was little mended by the exchange. Through the severity of his government, Nicomedes rendered himself so unpopular among his subjects at home, that he was unable to appear with any dignity abroad. While these princes were prevented, by indolence or disaffection, from interfering in foreign affairs, very different causes confined Ariarathes VI. to his domestic concerns in Cappadocia. With unwearied diligence, he continued to improve the arts and industry of that wide inland country: and the civility and humanity with which he inspired the upper classes of his people, without disqualifying them for war, promoted among them dispositions and habits essential to the best enjoyment of peace, and highly favourable

Pergamus.

Bithynia.

Cappadocia — praiseworthy pursuits of Ariarathes VI. B.C. 162—130.

[29] See above, p. xxiv.

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to the preservation of it with all their neighbours.[30] To the north of Cappadocia, the yet obscure kingdom of Pontus had been fortified and extended by Mithridates V. a prince of merit and address, who appears to have held a peaceful dominion over many Greek colonies on the Euxine; particularly Sinopé, the mother and queen of those colonies, in which his far-famed son Mithridates VI. Eupator was born and educated.[31]

Pontus and Mithridates V. B. C. 140—125.

But nearly half a century before this extraordinary prince began to reign towards the eastern shores of the Euxine, a king of the same name, and of a character not less enterprising, had assumed dominion over the eastern shores of the Caspian. This was Mithridates I. son of Priapatius, and the fifth king of Parthia[32], who mounted the throne in the same year that the persecutions and rapacity of Antiochus Epiphanes excited discontents or rebellions in most of the provinces of Upper Asia.[33] From this time forward, the Parthian Mithridates, in a reign of thirty-seven years, contemporary with eight Syrian kings or usurpers, had extended his influence or authority from the mouth of the Oxus to that of the Euphrates. The vast central province of Media, between the Caspian and Persian gulph, formed a province of his empire[34];

A greater Mithridates of Parthia. Olymp. clii. 3. B C. 173—138.

[30] Diodor. Eclog. iii. ex l. xxxi. p. 518.

[31] Strabo, l. xii. p. 545.

[32] He was the fifth Arsaces. Justin, l. xl. c. 6.

[33] Trogus in Prolog. xli. Oros. v. 4.

[34] Justin, ubi supra.

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His respect for the arts of peace.

his armies frequently encamped on the great Assyrian plain: but this respectable prince, who retained no mark of his Scythian ancestry but dauntless courage and rapidity of conquest, carefully restrained his fierce horsemen from entering the industrious and populous cities in Babylonia, particularly Seleucia, then containing upwards of six hundred thousand inhabitants. The Parthians were compelled to pitch their tents on the opposite or eastern side of the Tigris, at a place which afterwards became the site of Ctesiphon, and thus, from a camp, gradually rose into a great city. [35]

His connection with Bactria — state of that kingdom.

Before the reign of Mithridates in Parthia, the Greek kingdom of Bactria had subsisted fourscore years under two princes of the name of Theodotus, under Euthedemus the Magnesian, and his son Menander, all of whom acquired renown in the arts of war and peace. But the stream of their conquests flowed towards the remote regions of India, or the unknown deserts of Scythia. With India, they also were connected by a profitable commercial intercourse [36], of which the cities built by Alexander,

[35] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743.

[36] Strabo, l. x. p. 782. explains the eastern division of this commerce, and details the staples, or stations through which it passed. Instead of going from India to the Caspian gates, he proceeds from the Caspian gates to India; through Hecatompylos, Alexandria in Aria, Aphthasia, Arachotus, Ortospana, the mountains of India; the whole a distance of 15,500 stadia. Ortospana he calls the τριοδος εκ Βακτρων, that is, the meeting of the three roads from Bactria to India. All the three passes of the Paropamisus, were frequented, it should seem, in the regular intercourse between India and Bactria.

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in the region of Paropamisus and on the Indus subsisted[37] as convenient links. Mithridates of Parthia protected, encouraged, and extended arrangements, in consequence of which his own kingdom of Parthia or Khorosan traded on one hand with Bucharia[38], the Bactria and Sogdia of the ancients, and on the other with Lesser Asia and Syria. In the great fairs of Bactra and Maracanda, the merchants of northern India exchanged the spices and gems of Hindostan for the gold of Ethiopia and the silver of Spain. The Caspian gates, as we have above seen, formed the main link of communication between northern and southern Asia; and, in the neighbourhood of these gates, the cities of Heraclæa and Alexandropolis, founded by Alexander the Great, became important staples; while Hecatompylos, at no great distance[39], in the Proper Parthia, rose to a great capital, the proud seat of the Arsacidæ, indebted for its embellishments to commerce not less than to conquest.

Mithridates levies war on the parricidal son of the Bactrian king.

During the reign of Mithridates, the Parthians maintained a friendly connection with the Bactrians, until Eucratidas, the fifth king of Bactria, was treacherously slain by his son of the same name. To avenge the blood of his ally, Mith-

[37] We shall see below, that these staples flourished to a much later period.

[38] The boundaries of Khorosan and Bucharia often changed. Bactria, or Balk, in the middle ages, was one of the royal residences of the kings of Khorosan.

[39] According to Pliny, 133 Roman miles from the gates. N. H. l. vi. c. 15.

ridates levied war on the parricide, and having stripped him of some of his provinces, and reduced him to repentance and submission, accepted this humbled prince in the number of his tributaries, still leaving to him his royal title, since Eucratidas II. king of Bactria was dethroned and destroyed by an irruption of Scythians twelve years after the death of the Parthian conqueror. To the praise of this conqueror it is recorded, that he was, also, an able legislator. He collected, examined, and compared the institutions of all the various countries which either ambition or curiosity had engaged him to visit. From the whole number he selected, and established among the Parthians whatever appeared most congenial to their character and most conducive to the public interest. His justice and clemency were not less celebrated than his military skill and valour. [40]

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Happy had it been for Mithridates, had he enjoyed better materials to work on. In another country, great results might have been expected from his laws and his example. But in Parthia, their benefits were so transient, that the glory of Mithridates is but a flash in the gloom of night. All was personal, depending on himself alone; and, as he declined into old age, he became unable to resist the inherent mischief in all great Asiatic monarchies. According to the principles uniformly adopted in that quarter of the world, the dominant nation, whether Assy-

In his old age unable to restrain the fierce passions of his people — the composition of Parthian armies.

[40] Diodorus Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit. p. 597.

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rians, Scythians, Medes, Persians, or Parthians, always disdained to live on a foot of equality with the other subjects of the same common sovereign. They spurned the obligations of justice towards those whom they deemed naturally and essentially their inferiors. This tyranny of nations over nations, unceasingly prevalent in Asia, exerted itself with unusual violence in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Mithridates, who, as he had succeeded to the throne in advanced life, must have then been verging to the extremity of old age. But his Parthians were in the highest bloom of youthful audacity and prosperous violence. They had been formed, as we have seen, from a mixed assemblage of Scythian or Sclavonian tribes; each tribe consisting of warriors and horsemen, slaves to their chieftains, and of miserable peasants, who sometimes served on foot, but who were not of any account in the state or army.[41] With the growing prosperity of the empire, these military slaves continually augmented by purchase and propagation as well as by conquest, and were trained by their masters to war

[41] Posidonius vel Trogus Pompeius apud Justin, l. xli. c. 3. Conf. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. c. 6. The same manners prevailed in the middle age: the flower of the Sclavonians fought on horseback. Leo. Imperat. Tactic. & Procop. de Bell. Gothic. l. ii. & l. iii. passim. Suidas in the word Σειρος says, the Parthians collected the long reins of their bridles into a knot or heap, which they threw at their enemies, and rode off with them thus entangled. In imitation of this, the Sclavonian infantry made use of long ropes, with which they often caught their adversaries in a running noose. Procop. ibid. Conf. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 17. & Mauricii Strategicum. l. xi. c. v. p. 273, et seq. edit. Scheffer. Upsal. 1664.

and horsemanship not less carefully than their own children: the chieftains or nobility vied with each other in bringing to the standard of their king well disciplined squadrons, at once their property and their pride; so that Parthian armies amounting to fifty thousand cavalry, sometimes did not contain four hundred freemen. Uncouth as such institutions may appear to the civilized nations of Europe, they long prevailed in modern times among the Mamelukes in Egypt[42]: and the founder of the Russian greatness, when he set himself to improve an empire comprehending the original seats of the Parthians, found an army of 300,000 men, composed of slaves to the nobility.[43] Although we have seen that agriculture and commerce were not neglected by the humbler subjects of Mithridates, yet the flower of his nation is described as constantly employed either in hunting parties or in military expeditions, and always on horseback, even in the streets of their cities. On horseback they visited, feasted, and celebrated all their public solemnities. Besides the equestrian archers who fought flying, and wearied out an enemy by often renewed assaults, they had heavy cataphracts or cuirassiers clad in the steel of Margiana (a province immediately eastward of Parthia,) armed with long lances[44], and bearing a wonderful resemblance in all points to the

[42] Pocock Prolegom. ad Abulphar. p. 7.

[43] Schmidt's Russische Geschichte.

[44] Dion. Cassius, l. xl. p. 126. et seq. & Justin, l. xli. & xlii. passim.

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chivalrous warriors of the middle ages. In those ages, the institutions of knighthood, in which combatants entered the lists on horseback with extraordinary splendour, displaying more extraordinary address and valour, is said by an eminent historian to have occasioned the predilection for cavalry so long prevalent in modern Europe.[45] But as this predilection appeared still more conspicuously, and continued still longer among the Parthians, it ought to be regarded, not as the consequence, but rather as the cause of knighthood, and other corresponding distinctions, those only being entitled to wear the ring, the cincture, and the clasp, to whom the Parthian king assigned such ornaments as rewards for equestrian dexterity.[46] Among this warlike people, collected from rude clans into a great nation, some public offices of dignity should seem to have been hereditary. There was an officer who acted as a sort of deputy to the king in marshalling the cavalry, and who was entitled by his birth to crown every new sovereign. This officer was named the Surena[47]: his dignity devolved from father to son: when Parthia was governed by weak princes, the power of the Surena proportionally rose in the scale; and, from his right of officiating at the ceremony of coronation, we shall find

[45] Robertson's Reign of Charles V. vol. i. p. 103. 8vo. edit.

[46] Procopius de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 17. Conf. Aristot. Politic. l. vii. c. 2.

[47] Dion. Cassius. Plutarch. in Crasso. Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxii. & l. xxx.

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examples in which he presumed to dispose of the monarchy.

In adorning themselves and their horses, the Parthians, as they advanced in opulence, displayed the utmost profusion of Barbaric finery.[48] Their dress consisted in the tiara, the double tunick, and the large pantaloon inclosing the legs and thighs[49], and defended towards the extremities with buskins of red leather, often studded with pearls. On public occasions they assumed the Candys, which the Medes had borrowed from the Assyrians; a floating, resplendent robe, whose lateral openings allowed free motion to the limbs, and displayed the richness of their inward attire, embroidered with gold, and dyed of various colours.[50] Their cinctures, bespangled with gems, are compared by the poets to the flowery meadows of Sicily.[51] Bracelets, necklaces, and ear-rings, were ostentatiously worn by men[52]:

Their love of finery and ostentation.

[48] Julian in Panegyr. Constant. He says they assumed all the magnificence of the Persians, wore the Median robe, were clothed in gold and purple; and assigns for the reason, το μη δοκειν αφεσαναι Μακεδονων, αναλαβειν δε εξ αρχης βασιλειαν. "They wished to have themselves considered not as Parthians, who had revolted from the Macedonian empire, but as Persians ancient lords of Asia." In that quarter of the world, indeed, the victors have generally conformed to the customs of the more civilised vanquished: the luxury of the Parthians was borrowed from the Persians, as that of the Persians from the Medes, and that of the Medes from the Assyrians. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. c. 1. Diodorus, l. v. c. 54.

[49] The αναξυρις. Vid. Hesych. ad voc. Sarabara, and the reverse of a gold medal of Augustus, with the legend "Signis receptis," apud Vaillant Histor. Arsacid. p. 176.

[50] Chares Mytelenens. apud Athen. l. iii. Justin, l. xl. c. 4. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxxiii. c. 6.

[51] Claudian de Raptu Proserpinæ, l. ii. v. 94.

[52] Chares & Marcellin. ibid.

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whereas women could derive but little pride from female ornaments, being debarred from all public assemblies, and condemned to that humiliating servitude[53] which universally takes place wherever polygamy prevails. Comfortless in domestic life, the political state of the Parthians offered not any compensation to persons capable of reflection. The thoughtless might exult in their physical force, in the joys of victory, and in the distinctions of vanity. But all was precarious: wealth, fame, honour, and life itself. The sternest dominion of masters and husbands over their slaves and their women, belonged, of right, to the king, over the proudest nobles, and the bravest warriors; and whoever became the object of his declared displeasure, was subjected to immediate punishment: his head and right hand were severed from his body.[54] Terror was the principle of the government: ignorance, presumption, ferocity, and unbridled luxury, were the national characteristics; and a people, who obeyed only through fear, could not fail to domineer without mercy, when, having become the great paramount power in Asia, they were entitled, according to received maxims in that quarter of the world, to spurn all nations as their natural inferiors.

Parthian polygamy, despotism, and tyranny of nations over nations.

[53] Justin, l. xli. c. 3.

[54] Strabo, l. xv. p. 734. Conf. Posidonius apud Athen. Deipn. p. 192. The philosophic historian Posidonius had treated copiously of Parthian customs and manners. From him and Apollodorus of Artemeta, have been handed down most of the notices remaining on that subject. Conf. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 466. Strabo, l. xi. p. 516. & Justin, l. xlii. c. 2.

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Demetrius Nicator's campaign and captivity among the Parthians. Olymp. clix. 4. B. C. 141.

The Greeks and Macedonians, from the contrast of persons and manners, were the most exposed to the vexations of those tyrants, and the least calculated to endure them patiently. They communicated their grievances to each other, and to the barbarous satrapies among which they were scattered. At length they excited the spirit of rebellion, and in looking around for a leader to render it successful, bethought them of Demetrius Nicator, while that prince was no less eager to regain the provinces severed from the kingdom of the Greeks. Leaving therefore his queen Cleopatra to maintain the war at home against the usurper Tryphon, he hastened across the Euphrates to put himself at the head of the insurgents in Upper Asia. Several battles are said have been gained by him; for the voluntary flights of the Parthians were probably construed into defeats. But the incidents related of his campaign are few and doubtful, though the issue of it is certain, that he was taken prisoner by the Parthians, and retained by them ten years in a loose and honourable captivity.[55] The mild treatment of such a dangerous invader originated in the humanity and policy of Mithridates; since, among the last actions of his life, was the marriage of Demetrius to his fair daughter Rodoguna, and his order for the Syrian king to reside in Hyrcania, with every accommodation and indulgence that could

Marries Rhodoguna daughter to Mithridates.

[55] Conf. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7. Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. c. 14. & Orosius, l. v. c. 4.

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console him for the loss of liberty, and soothe his fallen fortunes.[56]

His queen Cleopatra forms the design of marrying his younger brother. Olymp. clx. 1. B. C. 140.

The captivity of Demetrius gave a new turn to affairs in Syria. Tryphon, as if his own power had thereby been established on a firm footing, began to throw aside the disguises which he had hitherto worn, and to play the tyrant with open and frontless audacity. The better and wealthier part of the Syrians, therefore, threw themselves into the scale of Cleopatra, wife to the captive prince, and daughter to Ptolemy Philometor; but a daughter, whose unprincipled selfishness strongly contrasted with the honesty and disinterestedness of her father. She had secured herself from the insults of her enemies within the impregnable strong-hold of Seleucia-Pieria. Her husband indeed had contracted a new marriage in Parthia; but this act was deemed of little validity, being performed by a prisoner. Cleopatra was the mother of two sons born to the hopes of the empire. Notwithstanding these obstacles in the way, she looked with desire towards the younger brother of her absent husband[57], who had been educated, as we have seen, in the secure and respectable commonwealth of Cnidus, and who, as he grew to manhood, had, by his spirit and liberality, rendered himself

[56] Id. ibid. Conf. Appian. Syriac. He says "Demetrius resided in the court of Phrahates," the successor of Mithridates, "and married his sister Rhodoguna." The chronology and history of the last years of Mithridates, are perplexed by contradictions, or involved in obscurity.

[57] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7.

popular in Lesser Asia, in Greece, and the intermediate isles. CHAP. XXV.

Cleopatra exhorted this prince, who was afterwards known in history by the name of Antiochus VII. Sidetes, "the hunter[58]," to hasten into Syria with all the mercenaries that he could levy, to claim the vacant throne, of which she doubted not to put him in possession; at any rate, to share her bed and fortunes. Antiochus entered into her views, with all the eagerness of youthful ambition. What his own fortune, though ample, was unable to supply, might be furnished to him by the still wealthy Syrians. He landed at Seleucia with an army composed chiefly of Greeks, attacked Tryphon, whose party had now dwindled to extreme weakness, drove him from the open country, and shut him up within the fortress of Dora, on the coast of Samaria.[59]

He assumes the title of Antiochus VII. Sidetes. Olymp. clx. 2. B. C. 139.

He defeats Tryphon.

Before arriving in Syria, Antiochus had obtained the friendship of Simon, high-priest and prince of the Jews. Simon accordingly sent towards Dora a supply of troops and warlike engines, with a view to gratify his ally. But Antiochus, in the height of his good fortune, needed not such auxiliaries. The Jews, it seems, to secure their newly declared sovereignty, had applied to the Roman senate, and the senate, always ready to protect small states against powerful neighbours, had written to the principal kings in the

Transactions with the Jews.

[58] Plutarch. Apophth. from the Syrian word zidah, to hunt; but, on his coins, he is entitled ευεργετου the benefactor.

[59] 1 Maccab. c. 15. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7.

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East, to respect the independence of their friends and confederates.[60] In the list of princes to whom these letters were addressed, we find Ptolemy VII. of Egypt, Attalus II. of Pergamus, Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia, Mithridates V. of Pontus, Mithridates I. of Parthia, and Demetrius II. of Syria. The name of Demetrius, a captive, could not fail to prove offensive to a brother who had usurped his throne. The assistance of the Jews was accordingly rejected by Antiochus, who, with his Greek forces only, assaulted and took Dora. Tryphon escaped by sea to the neighbouring strong-hold of Orthosias in Phœnicia; Antiochus besieged and soon entered that place: but his victim again eluded his grasp by scattering money, it is said, in the way of the horsemen who were sent in pursuit of him.[61] He reached in safety Syrian Apamæa, near to which, in a castle called Secoana, he had been born and educated. On this, his natal ground, he either laid violent hands on himself, (for his story is differently told), or was put to death by his pursuers.[62] He had reigned two years in name of the boy, Antiochus VI., and four years in his own. The few places which held out for him, speedily opened their gates to Antiochus VII. now husband of Cleopatra, and undisturbed master of the kingdom.

Pursuit and murder of Tryphon. Olymp. clx. 3. B. C. 138.

It was natural for a young prince, whose designs had advanced during two years on a

Antiochus VII. prepares for

[60] 1 Maccab. c. xiv. xv.

[61] Frontin. Stratag. l. ii. c. 13.

[62] Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 70. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 752. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7.

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flowing tide of prosperity, to think no undertaking too great for his abilities and good fortune. Mithridates I. king of Parthia, had died full of years and honour. His son Phrahates II. succeeded to the throne. Under the new reign, Antiochus conceived hopes of levying war on Parthia with better success than his brother. He had an army of European Greeks at his disposal, of which his brother had been destitute; and the unceasing vexations of the Parthians would procure for him formidable auxiliaries among the nations of Upper Asia. But, before his preparations were in readiness for marching to the East, it was recommended to him to disarm the Jews, hollow friends, and stubborn enemies, and who, while they remained powerful in his neighbourhood, must mar or render fruitless all his distant projects. The task of disarming them was committed to his general, Cendebæus, who commanded on the sea-coast. Simon was prevented by old age from taking the field; but his sons, Judas and John, approved themselves able protectors of their nation[63]; and the freedom of Palæstine had less to fear from open invaders than from concealed traitors.

an eastern expedition.

The leaven of hellenising brethren still subsisted in the country, and even in the family of the high-priest, whose son-in-law, Ptolemy, (for this apostate had assumed a Greek name), at an entertainment given in the castle of Jericho, where he commanded as governor, assas-

Assassination of Simon and his two sons. Olymp. clxi. 2. B. C. 135.

63 Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8, 1 Maccab. c. xv.

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sinated Simon, together with two of his sons, Judas and Mattathias. The emissaries of the murderer hastened to Gadara, to take off John, the only remaining son of Simon, after which Ptolemy hoped, in right of his wife, and by the good will of Antiochus, of whom he was ready to acknowledge himself the vassal, to appropriate all the opulence and honours belonging to the Asmonæan family. But the vigilance and dexterity of John defeated his machinations, and obtained for himself[64] the office of high-priest and general, which his father had filled, eight years, with unblemished integrity and conspicuous abilities.

The third son John Hyrcanus tributary to Antiochus VII.

Meanwhile, Antiochus, as if he had known and approved the blow struck by the execrable Ptolemy, invaded Judæa, and besieged the capital. The king, however, who was rather prompted by those around him, than himself hearty in the war, and who burned with impatience for his Parthian expedition, listened to proposals of peace from the Jewish high-priest. A tribute was imposed on those cities and districts which Simon had added to the proper territory of Judæa; and John, who in the course of the Parthian warfare, was shortly to be distinguished by the epithet of Hyrcanus, accompanied at the head of his countrymen the standard of Antiochus into Upper Asia.[65]

Antiochus's preparations.

Immense preparations had been made for this eastern warfare, and the army was the most

[64] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. c. xvi.
[65] Id. ibid.

numerous and the most splendidly equipped of any that had taken the field since the brilliant years of Antiochus III. surnamed the Great. The fighting men amounted to eighty thousand, and their followers of all descriptions exceeded three times that number. Historians expatiate, particularly, on the bulky retinue of vice and folly by which the camp was encumbered; musicians, dancers, stage-players, buffoons, and all those beautiful outcasts or alluring warblers of the female sex, who subsisted by the prostitution of their talents and of their persons.[66] The gold and silver, the resplendent tissues and costly luxuries, many of them brought from the extremities of the east and south, which enriched the tents and tables of the Syrians[67], afford a convincing proof that incessant but petty wars had rather molested, than interrupted, the extensive commerce carried on through central Asia. Notwithstanding partial examples to the contrary, industry and the arts were exempted from merciless depredation, and temples, the safeguards of peaceful intercourse, were in general respected by invading conquerors. Yet the efforts made on this occasion by Syria were wonderful, and correspond with the extraordinary exertions which we have seen in other Greek kingdoms and republics: they display the multiplied resources which labour and in-

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[66] Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 10. Orosius, l. v. c. 10. Valerius Maximus, l. ix. c. 1.

[67] Athen. Deipn. l. v. p. 210. & l. . p. 439. & l. xii. p. 540.

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genuity created and long maintained in those countries of antiquity; and thus suggest to modern nations the encouraging reflection, that even those of them, the most flourishing, may still make farther advances in prosperity.

His march into Upper Asia.

In proceeding to Mesopotamia, Antiochus pursued the northern route, and being joined by many Babylonian malecontents, crossed the Tigris into that district of Atyria which is watered by the Lycos and the Kapros; that is, the Wolf and the Boar. On the former of these rivers, the Parthians had assembled in great force under Indates, the commander entrusted on that side with the defence of the empire. After two partial encounters, a general engagement ensued; the Barbarians were put to the rout; a Greek trophy adorned the banks of the Lycos[67]; where Antiochus halted the first two days of Pentecost, at the request of John, the Jewish priest and general; a condescension which indicates that the Jews, as on many former occasions, had conspicuously signalised their prowess in this decisive victory. On nearly the same ground Alexander had, for the third time, defeated the Persians. Equally triumphant, Antiochus hastened into Media, and received its willing submission. As he approached the Caspian sea, Phrahates and his Parthians fled before his victorious arms; and the general of the Jews being sent with his detachment into Hyrcania, immediately contiguous to that sea, made

[67] Josephus, l. xiii. c. 8.

so rapid a conquest of the country, that the epithet, "Hyrcanus," is said thenceforward, by way of honour, to have adhered to his name of John.[68] CHAP. XXV.

Cause of his reverse of fortune.

After these splendid events, all is confusion or obscurity in the reign of Antiochus the Hunter. His forces, however, we may discern, were cantoned into numerous and small parties[69] over the vast countries which they had overrun. In their winter quarters, the commanders, and particularly a general of the Greek name Athenæus, indulged them in the utmost licence of rapacity and cruelty. They were attacked on all sides at once, with as seasonable co-operation, as if a conspiracy had been regularly concerted for their destruction. Phrahates, with such troops as had accompanied his flight, returned to avail himself of the emergency. He encountered Antiochus, hastening to remedy the disorders produced by the misconduct of his generals; and the Syrian king was either slain in battle[70], or put to death after defeat[71], or died in despair by his own sword[72], or threw himself headlong down a precipice.[73] These, and a still greater variety of contradictory reports,

[68] He is called, however, Hyrcanus by way of anticipation before this expedition; the name, as we have seen, was before known among the Jews, and the origin of it is doubtful. Vid. Dodwell de Cyclis Dissert. ix.

[69] Diodor. Excerp. de Virtut. & Vit. p. 603.

[70] Joseph. ubi supra.

[71] Euseb. Chronic. Conf. Athenæus, l. x. p. 439.

[72] Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

[73] Ælian. Histor. Animal. l. x. c. 34.

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mutually discredit each other; and more circumstantial history concurring with the evidence[74] of Syrian coins, attests that Antiochus still lived and reigned the year following his defeat by Phrahates, and was slain two years afterwards in an attempt to rob the temple of Nanæa.

Slain in attempting to rob the temple of Nanæa on mount Zagros.

This obscure goddess should seem to have held her seat among the defiles of mount Zagros, and in one of those staples, or stations, where the portable wealth of nations was deposited, and where distant caravans from both sides the mountain, under protection of Nanæa's temple, safely traded with each other. Antiochus, on pretence that he came to betrothe her, entered the temple slightly accompanied, to receive her accumulated opulence by way of dower. But the priests of Nanæa having shut the outward gates of the sacred inclosure, opened the concealed doors on the roof of the temple, and overwhelmed the king and his attendants as with thunderbolts from on high; then casting their mutilated remains without the walls, thus awfully announced to the Syrians, who waited his return, the disaster of their king, and the terrific majesty of the goddess.[75] Three Syrian kings thus perished in rash enterprises against those rich depositories. Where the prey lies, there the vultures will assemble!

Irruptions of Scythians.

The circumstance that enabled Antiochus to rally, after he had been discomfited by Phra-

[74] See Frælich. in Prolegom. c. 4.

[75] 2 Maccab. c. 1.

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hates, was a sudden irruption of Scythian Nomades. A horde of those Scythians, we are told, had been invited into the service of Phrahates, to counteract the Syrian invasion.[76] They came, however, too late; and, on this account, their stipulated pay was denied them. But independently of this ground of quarrel, the shepherds in *Turan* always hung, as in ambush, over the husbandmen in *Iran;* and when an opportunity offered, were ready to pour down on them in merciless desolation. During the present incursion, Phrahates II. and his follower Artabanus II. were, in the course of four years, their successive victims; and in the middle point between the destruction of these princes, the Greek kingdom of Bactria was, in the year 126 before the Christian era, finally demolished and swept away by Scythians from beyond the Jaxartes, divided into various tribes, under various uncouth appellations.[77] This desolating irruption is attested in the annals of China[78] as well as in those of Greece; a coincidence in remote sources of information the more satisfactory, because the learned author, who first communicated the Chinese testimonies, appears to have been wholly ignorant that they confirm notices in Strabo the Greek geographer.[79]

Olymp. clxii. 3—clxiv. 1. B. C. 130—124.

Extinction of the Greek kingdom of Bactria. Olymp. clxiii. 3. B. C. 126.

[76] Justin, l. xlii. c. 1.

[77] Tachari, Sacaurauli, &c. Strabo, l. xi. p. 511.

[78] Monsr. de Guigne's Mem. sur la Bactriane in Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscript. vol. xlii. 8vo. edit.

[79] Strabo, ibid.

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Far later subsistence of the eastern dependencies of Bactria.

The eastern dependencies of Bactria subsisted to a much later period under the government of Greeks. The district of Badakshan, two hundred miles east of Bactra or Balk, was governed by a family, claiming descent from Alexander the Great, even to modern times: and the hilly country of Bijore, the Bazira of Alexander, contained a tribe which, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, continued to boast the same origin.[80] How far the most civilised nations of Asia were indebted to those Greeks in matters of literature and science, it is not easy to determine. Some astronomical instruments, found anciently in China, and placed in the cities of Pekin and Nankeen, are said to have been of a construction unfit for use in those places, but to have been accurately formed for the thirty-seventh parallel, the latitude of Balk or Bactra.[81] As the ancient history of the Hindoos is wholly involved in fable, no satisfactory information can be obtained from that quarter. Yet, whoever considers their abstract philosophy, so unlike to all other productions of their own genius, and so similar to metaphysical refinements, often growing out of the Greek tongue, will be inclined to suspect the originality of the Hindoos in these nice speculations, and to refer their high literary attainments to a later period than that usually assigned them.[82]

[80] See Rennell's Memoir, 3d. edit. p. 161. 166. 201.

[81] Barrow's Travels in China, p. 290.

[82] Compare the speculative doctrine of the Hindoos, as stated in the Ayeen Acbery, translated by Mr. Gladwin, with the account of

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Mithridates II. of Parthia, or Arsaces IX. Olymp. clxiv. 1—clxxiii. 1. B. C. 125—87.

In the invasion of Parthia, the Syrians had fought for conquest, and were defeated; but the Scythians, though victorious, aimed only at plunder. Having satiated their rapacity, they marched homeward; and when the hurricane had spent its force, Mithridates, a name propitious to Parthia, on succeeding to his father Artabanus, collected the strength of his nation, and again consolidated his kingdom. This second Mithridates rivalled the first in the length and splendour of his reign.[83] It lasted thirty-six years; in the course of which time he recovered the former possessions of the empire, and even extended them on the side of Armenia, and is therefore distinguished on his coins and in history by the title of Great; a title, thus bestowed on the restorer, which, with more propriety, might have been conferred on the founder of the Parthian greatness. A hundred years before the reign of Mithridates II. in Parthia, Antiochus III. of Syria assumed, for a similar reason, the same boastful appellation; but of all the kings who, either in ancient or modern times, have been denominated Great by their contemporaries, the title, when not melted into one word with the name, has uniformly adhered to the Great Alexander only; his matchless glory alone sustaining among the nations

Greek philosophy in History of Ancient Greece, Part I. vol. iii. c. 32., and in my New Analysis of Aristotle's speculative works, with supplement.

[83] Justin, l. xlii. c. 2. & Porphyr. in Græc. Eusebian.

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both of the East and West, the weight of so lofty a distinction.

Demetrius II. remounts the throne of Syria. Olymp. clxii. 3. B. C. 130.

The invasion of Parthia by Antiochus VII. which ended in the death of that enterprising prince, was the last attempt made by any of the Seleucidæ for restoring the splendour of the Syrian monarchy. His brother Demetrius II. escaped from Parthia, amidst the convulsions of that kingdom, and recommenced a reign of four years, equally turbulent at home and inglorious abroad. John Hyrcanus returned also from the East. The interests of his country were ever uppermost in the mind of Hyrcanus; and from this period he continued to govern the Jews twenty-two years, with a policy more admirable than his prowess in combating the Parthians.[84]

Contemporary and subsequent Greek kings — their universal infamy.

Shortly before Antiochus's expedition into Upper Asia, Attalus II. king of Pergamus, died of old age, Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia, fell, as we shall see presently, in battle, and Hierax, the able minister of Egypt, perished by the cruel arts of his master.[85] From this time forward, in Syria, in Egypt, and in every other Greek kingdom, there was a rapid degeneracy in character still more memorable than their sad reverse of fortune; and the corruptions, by which all of them were undermined before their final ruin, justify the boldest but most disgusting of

[84] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17, 18.

[85] Athenæus, l. vi. p. 252. erroneously ascribes the murder of Hierax to Ptolemy Philometor, who never put to death any, even of his worst enemies. Polyb. l. xl. c. 12.

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all metaphors by which royal vices have been branded.[86]

Frantic reign of Attalus III. of Pergamus. Olymp. clx. 3—clxi. 4. B. C. 158—133.

Attalus III. of Pergamus, was either a madman at the time of his accession, or driven afterwards into madness by his execrable crimes. He was son to Eumenes, elder brother of the late king, and in gratitude to that prince, named as heir by Attalus II. in preference to his own children.[87] But he had no sooner mounted the throne, than he stained his palace with the blood of his nearest relations and the best friends of his family.[88] He then secluded himself from public view, totally neglected the care of his person, and, assuming a sordid habit, spent his time in cultivating a garden stored with poisonous plants, which he sent as presents to those who had the misfortune to be numbered among his friends.[89] From such a prince, no attention could be expected to affairs foreign or domestic. His mercenaries, and those who commanded them, were masters of the kingdom. When Attalus grew tired of gardening, he betook himself to the occupation of a founder. His last work was a brazen monument to his mother Stratonicé, for he affected the title of Philometor, and perpetrated some of his worst cruelties on pretence of revenging the murder

[86] The last of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, "were worms and venemous reptiles growing out of the rotting carcase of Alexander's once flourishing empire." Plutarch. in Alexand.

[87] Plutarch. de Fratern. Amor.

[88] Diodor. Excerp. de Virtut. & Vit. p. 601.

[89] Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 4.

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of that princess, who had died in advanced age, through the decay of nature. In casting the monument of Stratonicé, the heat of the weather conspiring with that of the work, was thought to have thrown him into a fever, which destroyed him in seven days, after he had named the Romans for his heirs.[90]

The Pergamenian usurper Aristonicus — he defeats Licinius Crassus. Olymp. clxii. 3. B.C. 130.

Of this strange destination, the sedition of the Gracchi which then raged at Rome, prevented the senate from adopting the proper measures immediately to avail itself. Aristonicus, whom his partisans called the son of Eumenes, profited by the delay. This pretender, born from the daughter of an Ephesian musician, had never been acknowledged either by his supposed father Eumenes, or by his uncle Attalus Philadelphus, or by his brother Attalus Philometor. Yet hatred to the Romans, and aversion to a foreign yoke, made many Pergamenians desire him for their king.[92] His cause was warmly espoused by the Phocæans; he seized the strong-hold of Leucæ, in the neighbourhood of Smyrna; success multiplied his adherents; the Thracians, greedy of plunder, flocked to his standard; he acquired a fleet and army; and, though opposed at sea by the Ephesians, and at land by forces from Pontus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, countries in alliance with Rome, he in little more than a twelvemonth made him-

[90] Justin, l. xxxiv. c. 4. Conf. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 646. & Plutarch. in Tiber. Graccho.

[91] Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 4.

[92] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lix.

self master of all the principal cities in the kingdom. At length the Romans, who had hitherto counteracted him only by embassies to their allies, sent into Asia Licinius Crassus with an army. This consul, odious by his severity and rapacity, was surprised, defeated, and made prisoner in the neighbourhood of Elæa, the principal sea-port of Pergamus. His presence of mind, however, saved him from the disgrace of falling into the cruel hands of the victor. By piercing the eye of a Thracian, who conducted him to Aristonicus, he provoked the barbarian to dispatch him with his dagger. [93]

Is defeated, and sent to Rome by Perperna. Olymp. clxii. 3. B. C. 130.

Perperna, successor to Crassus, did not allow the enemy long to triumph. He attacked him successfully in the district of Stratonicæa, besieged him in that city, compelled him to surrender at discretion, and sent him in chains to Rome. [94] The Phocæans, his abettors, narrowly escaped a still more awful vengeance. They had strenuously assisted Antiochus the Great; they had supported the claims of the impostor Aristonicus. The senate, exasperated by these provocations from so small a state, had determined totally to extirpate their name and nation. But the warm interposition of Massilia in Gaul, a colony of Phocæa, and which had hitherto subsisted on the most friendly footing with Rome, had the glory to save the former repub-

93 Frontin. Stratagem. l. iv. c. 5. Florus, l ii. c. 20. Valer. Maxim. l. iii. c. 2.

94 Conf. Florus, l. ii. c. 20. Plutarch. in Tiber. Graccho. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 38. Valer. Maximus, l. iii. c. 4.

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lic from destruction, and to rescue the latter from the guilt or infamy of an enormous crime.[95] The Romans, indeed, at this time, must have been familiar with crimes, since the war being again kindled after the departure of Perperna, Aquillius, who succeeded to him as consul, submitted to the infamy of reducing several Pergamenian cities, by poisoning[96] the fountains which sent them their only supplies of fresh water. Besides Nicomedes II. of Bithynia, whose assistance seems to have been of little importance, both Mithridates V. of Pontus, and Ariarathes VI. of Cappadocia, contributed their best services towards annexing Pergamus to Rome. They were both of them respectable princes, and wanted not penetration to discern the ambition of the great Western republic, but discerned also their incompetency to oppose its power. The king of Cappadocia perished in the defeat of Crassus; the king of Pontus shared the victory of Perperna, and was rewarded by the senate with the gift of some districts in Phrygia[97]; the resumption of which by the Romans afforded matter of bitter complaint to Mithridates VI. Eupator, his immediate successor.

Parricidal murders in Cappadocia. Olymp. clxii. 4. B. C. 129.

The rewards due to Ariarathes, consisting in some contiguous portions of Lycaonia and Cilicia, were bestowed on his family; a flourishing family of six sons, under the guardianship

95 Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 1.

96 Florus, l. 2. c. 20.

97 Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 1.

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of their mother Laodicé, who, by the will of her husband, was left regent of the kingdom. But this flagitious woman, with a view to retain power, poisoned five of her sons before they attained the age of manhood. The sixth was saved by the interposition of his relatives, and the loyal solicitude of the Cappadocians.[98] Upon the conviction and punishment of his unnatural mother, Ariarathes VII. assumed the government[99], and shortly afterwards married the daughter of Mithridates V. of Pontus[100], named also Laodicé, a name, as we shall see hereafter, ever inauspicious to the fortunes of Cappadocia.

Brutality of Ptolemy Physcon. Olymp. clxi. 4. B. C. 133.

During these transactions in Lesser Asia, Ptolemy Physcon pursued his mad career in Egypt with such intolerable cruelty, that his subjects were at length driven into rebellion. We have seen his bloody marriage with his brother's widow Cleopatra. This princess was repudiated to make room for the daughter of her first marriage, named also Cleopatra, whose chastity Physcon first corrupted before he thought fit to raise the harlot to his bed.[101] With scenes, however abominable, confined within the walls of the palace, his subjects cared not to interfere: even his open violations of those laws which protect personal security, had been endured without resistance by the multitude, while the higher ranks in Alexandria,

[98] Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 1.
[99] Strabo, l. xii. p. 540.
[100] Justin, ibid.
[101] Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 1. Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8.

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among whom the philosophers and men of letters are particularly specified, betook themselves to a voluntary banishment into those hellenised countries of Asia and Europe, in which, their literature and science were most likely to procure them a livelihood. Yet Ptolemy's profligacy and brutality had not obliterated the remembrance that the patronage of learning formed the hereditary distinction of his family. He had studied under the critic Aristarchus, he admired the philosopher Eudoxus, his liberality had been unbounded to the sophist Eparetus.[102] He himself affected the praise of literary accomplishments; and could find amusement in acquiring them, amidst pursuits of the most contrary nature.[103] Accordingly he is said to have regretted the irksome solitude to which his tyranny had reduced him, and to have spared no pains, either to bring back the fugitives, or to attract to Alexandria new inhabitants of a similar description,[104]

The younger Scipio in Alexandria — his striking contrast with the king. Olymp. clxi. 4. B.C. 133.

While he was thus employed in re-peopling his capital, commissioners came to him from Rome, sent, according to the policy of that state, to inspect at proper intervals the affairs of allied kingdoms. They consisted of the younger *Scipio*, of *Mummius* and *Metellus*, all three persons of the highest dignity, and Scipio, in public estimation, the first man in his country. In their reception, and the en-

[102] Athenæus, l. ii. p. 71.
[103] Id. l. xiv. p. 654.
[104] Id. ibid.

tertainments which accompanied it, the king displayed all his magnificence, and made professions of unbounded respect.[105] Notwithstanding his unwieldly corpulency, he accompanied the commissioners on foot, that they might view the ornaments of the city; on which occasion Scipio whispered into the ear of the philosopher Panætius, the only friend who attended him in this voyage, "the Egyptians have to thank us for giving their king this salutary exercise."[106] The person of Ptolemy is represented as a fit receptacle for the monstrous mind that inhabited it.[107] He was of a short stature, an ugly countenance, and, in the enormous trail of his belly, resembled rather a hog than a man; his body was of immeasurable compass, and he covered it with garments thin and transparent, the better to display his disgusting nakedness.[108] Such a king even the Egyptians failed not to contrast with the modesty and dignity of Scipio; and the remonstrances of the illustrious Roman seem to have procured for the people, his admirers, a considerable mitigation in their sufferings. But shortly after the strangers had left him, Ptolemy renewed his barbarities. The Alexandrians murmured and began even to threaten resistance. To disarm their vengeance, he caused a sudden massacre of their young men, in the place of public exercise. This enormity inspired the

The Alexandrians in arms against Physcon, who flies to Cyprus. Olymp. clxii. 3. B. C. 130.

[105] Diodorus Excerp. p. 629.
[106] Plutarch Apophth.
[107] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 549.
[108] Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8.

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citizens with fury. They flew to arms, attacked and overpowered his mercenaries, and were in hopes of destroying him in the conflagration of his palace, when they learned that, in company with his queen the younger Cleopatra, and his son Memphites by the elder, he had embarked for Cyprus, the most considerable of his dependencies.[109]

His repudiated wife Cleopatra, mounts the throne.

By the voice of the Alexandrians, which was not opposed in any part of the kingdom, the elder Cleopatra was set on the throne of her abdicated husband. This was an event which Physcon had not foreseen. He doubted not but one of his sons by that princess would have been named for his successor. Memphites the younger he had therefore carried with him to Cyprus. The elder, whose name is unknown, was his viceroy in Cyrené. This unfortunate viceroy was sent for, and landed in Cyprus only to meet the hand of an assassin.[110] Upon intelligence of his murder, the Alexandrians testified their rage against the tyrant by destroying his statues; an act which he ascribed to the resentment of the queen-regent, for the loss of her son. In this point of maternal affection finding his wife vulnerable, the monstrous father cut off the head of her younger son, Memphites, a boy in his fourteenth year, and inclosed it in a casket, that it might be delivered to the mother on the anniversary of her birth-day.[111]

He procures the assassination of his elder son, and beheads the younger.

[109] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lix. Orosus, l. v. c. 10.

[110] Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8.

[111] Diodorus Excerp. p. 602. Valer. Maxim. & Tit. Liv. ibid.

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The horrid present changed a day of rejoicing into melancholy mourning, which, beginning from the palace, filled the city of Alexandria.[112] The inhabitants resumed arms under Marsyas, whom the queen had constituted her general, determining with one accord to resist the invasion of Physcon, who, they were informed, had reinforced his armament in Cyprus, and collected a large body of mercenaries in order to recover his capital. These forces landed in Egypt, under Hegelochus, who, having provoked Marsyas to battle, put his army of Alexandrians to the rout, and made captive their commander. In this extremity the queen-regent, now shut up in Alexandria, applied to Demetrius II. king of Syria, who had married, as we have seen, her eldest daughter, informing him of the murder of her two sons, and assuring him that if he could bring any considerable body of men into Egypt, he might make himself master of the kingdom. Demetrius complied very unseasonably with this proposal; for his bad government had rendered him odious to the Syrians, and his marriage with Rhodoguna in Parthia had mortally offended his queen. Confident, however, in the strength of his mercenaries, and especially of some bodies of Greeks recently returned from their Parthian warfare, he neglected the rising sedition at home, marched towards the Egyptian frontier,

Physcon recovers Egypt, notwithstanding the opposition of Demetrius Nicator. Olymp. clxiii. 1. B. C. 128.

[112] Diodor. Excerpt. p. 602.

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and laid siege to Pelusium.[113] But before he had gained possession of that key to the country, the citizens of Antioch and Apamea, still infected with the leaven of Tryphon's party[114], broke out into open rebellion. Lest their example might be followed throughout the kingdom, Demetrius raised the siege of Pelusium, and hastened back into his own dominions; upon intelligence of which movement, the queen-regent of Egypt embarked with all her treasures, and sailed[115] to Ptolemais in Syria, where her daughter, wife to Demetrius, had long held her residence. Shortly after her flight from Alexandria, Physcon recovered possession of that capital: and, as if he had wished to obliterate the memory of his past cruelties by an act of singular clemency, he pardoned the captive Marsyas, a general taken in arms at the head of his enemies.[116]

Physcon abets against Demetrius the impostor Alexander Zebina. Olymp. clxiii. 1. B. C. 128.

Meanwhile, the rebellion in Syria continued to make progress; although the insurgents, most disgusted with the pride and cruelty of Demetrius, had not agreed among themselves whom to substitute in his stead. Amidst their indecision or contrariety, Physcon sent, at the head of a part of the same victorious troops who had recently triumphed in Egypt, a youth,

[113] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 9.

[114] This can be the only meaning of Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1. Antiochenses primi, duce Tryphone, &c. Tryphon was slain twelve years before.

[115] Joseph. ibid.

[116] Diodorus Excerp. p. 603.

name Alexander Zebina[117], in reality, son to a broker of Alexandria, but who was instructed to claim his descent, through Alexander Balas, from Antiochus Epiphanes; to which branch of the Seleucidæ many Syrians still adhered with the warmth of compassion, or the obstinacy of prejudice. Reinforced by men of this description, and other Syrian malecontents, Zebina met Demetrius in the field. A decisive battle was fought near Damascus. The mercenaries of the king were put to the rout, and, when he himself escaped to Ptolemais, he found the gates of that city shut against him by the two Cleopatras, his wife and mother-in-law. The former was actuated on this occasion by a motive less excusable, as her subsequent behaviour too clearly indicates, than the resentment of offended love. She had born two sons to Demetrius, just growing into manhood, under whose name, upon the destruction of her husband, she hoped to be called by a party to assume the reins of government. When Demetrius therefore fled from Ptolemais to Tyre, and was still regarded by the citizens of that place as their sovereign, Cleopatra spared no pains to exasperate the Tyrians against him. Her machinations proved successful. Even respect for Tyrian Hercules, in whose temple he took refuge[118], was unable to save his life, justly for-

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Demetrius defeated in battle and slain in Tyre at the instigation of his wife — her views. Olymp. clxiii. 3. B. C. 126.

[117] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 9. Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1. Athenæus, l. v. p. 211. Zebina is a Syrian nickname, denoting a bought-slave. Porphyr. Fragment. Eusebian.

[118] Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1.

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feited indeed to his injured subjects, but most wickedly destroyed by his wife's profligate ambition. [119]

Civil war of five years in Syria. Olymp. clxiii. 3—clxiv. 3. B. C. 126—122.

The local circumstances of Syria highly favoured Cleopatra's purposes. A country of mountains, and valleys, and innumerable strongholds, was not to be won by the issue of a battle. Though Zebina, who assumed the title of king Alexander II. was master of the field, and had entered into strict alliance [120] with Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, yet many fortified cities, now that the odious Demetrius was no more, declared for the legitimate succession of his elder son Seleucus, and spurned the impostor whom Ptolemy Physcon endeavoured to set over them. In this manner the kingdom of Syria came to be divided into two hostile states, which, during five years, balanced each other; one abetting the pretensions of Alexander II. and the other asserting the rights of the sons of Demetrius. The elder of these sons, Seleucus V. had scarcely borne his title a single year, when he was assassinated by the hand of his mother [121], to whom too much independence of spirit had rendered him obnoxious. He was succeeded by his brother Antiochus VIII. who assumed the epithets of Philometor and Epiphanes [122], but who is known in history by his

Seleucus V. assassinated by his mother. Olymp. clxiii. 4. B. C. 125.

[119] Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

[120] Josephus, l. xiii. c. 9.

[121] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxix. Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

[122] The former epithet appears in Porphyry and Josephus above cited: the latter on coins.

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nickname of Grypus, or hook-nose.[123] During the first three years of his reign, Grypus maintained the show of unbounded deference for the will of his mother, and co-operated with her, by intrigues rather than arms, against Alexander II. their common enemy. By bribes and promises, Alexander's garrisons were corrupted: his officers deserted; several cities rebelled, particularly the important strong-hold Laodicea, at the foot of mount Libanus.

Clemency of Alexander II. Zebina.

Alexander showed considerable ability in counteracting the machinations of his adversaries; but still more signalised his clemency in pardoning such traitors as the chance of arms, at any time, put into his hands. On regaining Laodicea, he spared even Antipater, Clonius, and Æropus, three of his confidential friends who had combined to betray him. This forgiving disposition proved highly conducive to his interest. Through love for his mildness and benignity, many, who well knew him for an impostor, were yet zealous to uphold his usurpation.[124]

War suddenly levied on him by Ptolemy Physcon — his death. Olymp. clxiv. 3. B. C. 122.

The misfortunes of Alexander proceeded from a quarter the least suspected, the same hand, which had raised him, being suddenly exerted to pull him down. Ptolemy Physcon, with the caprice natural to his character, entered into an alliance with Grypus[125], and gave

[123] Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1. & Joseph. l. xiii. c. 9.

[124] Athenæus, l. v. p. 211. Conf. Diodor. Excerp. p. 603.

[125] Physcon found Zebina less subservient to him than he expected; history assigns not any particular ground of offence.

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him in marriage Tryphæna, the eldest of his three daughters. The nuptials were celebrated with due pomp. Tryphæna brought for her dower a reinforcement of her father's mercenaries. Alexander was driven to the necessity of fighting a battle, in which he was entirely forsaken by his good fortune. He fled with a slender train from one city to another, and endeavoured hastily to collect such supplies of money as might ensure him a comfortable retreat in Greece, in which country, then enjoying undisturbed quiet under the supremacy of Rome, he had purposed to lead a life of philosophy and happiness, bidding for ever adieu to the treacherous pursuits of ambition. But, with a view to this design, he was tempted to lay hold of rich treasures in one of the temples at Antioch. The priests raised the cry of sacrilege. A tumult ensued: Alexander fled precipately, and, to escape his pursuers, betook himself to unfrequented paths, among which, being encountered and recognised by a band of robbers, he ended his life by poison.[126] Thus died Zebina, the son of a broker of Alexandria, who, for nearly six years, had filled the throne of the Seleucidæ.

Intrigues of Cleopatra—her tragic death.

The destruction of this rival infused new boldness into Grypus, and determined him to rebel against the haughty dictates of his mother. To cure this wound to her ambition, Cleopatra

[126] He feared, the banditti, to make their own peace, would surrender him to Antiochus. Diodorus Excerpt. p. 604. Justin, l. xxxix. c. 2.

had recourse to the most nefarious practices. Besides her son by Alexander Balas, slain in childhood by Tryphon, and her two sons by Demetrius II. Nicator, the elder of whom she had murdered, and by the younger of whom she now thought herself slighted, she had a fourth son still remaining, the fruit of her marriage with Antiochus VII., Sidetes; and who, having been educated in the republic of Cyzicus in the Propontis, is distinguished in history by the epithet Cyzicenus, joined to the hereditary name of Antiochus.[127] As Cyzicenus was several years younger than his brother Grypus, Cleopatra doubted not to find in him more unbounded compliance with her will; she determined therefore to cut off the one, to make room for the succession of the other. With this execrable purpose, she tendered a poisoned cup to Grypus, as he returned warm from exercise. But, apprised of the treachery, her son begged leave to pledge her; and when she refused to drink, produced the evidences of her guilt, and forced her to swallow the mortal draught.[128] Thus perished Cleopatra, wife to three kings; the mother also of three, who reigned in her lifetime; and of Cyzicenus, a fourth, who mounted the throne of Antioch eight years after her death. CHAP. XXV.

During this period of eight years, Syria enjoyed profound peace at home and abroad. The limits of the kingdom were indeed greatly con- Antiochus VIII. Grypus reigns quietly

[127] Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.

[128] Justin, l. xxxix. c. 2. Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 68.

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eight years in Syria. Olymp. clxiv. 4 —clxvi. 3. B. C. 121 —114.

tracted, but Antiochus VIII. Grypus, reigned without a rival; and, in this cessation of foreign wars and domestic sedition, distinguished himself only by the luxury of his entertainments and the splendour of his festivals. The games which he celebrated at Daphné, the Olympia of Syria, rivalled those exhibited half a century before his time, by Antiochus IV. surnamed Epiphanes. Grypus had also assumed this boastful title: and, like the first who wore it, is pourtrayed on his coins under the figure of Jupiter stretching forth garlands of victory. History has handed down the name of Apollonius among the lying flatterers whom he pampered, and that of Diogenes, a philosopher of Babylon, among the unfortunate victims of truth spoken with uncourtly freedom.[129]

Death of Ptolemy Physcon — Intrigues of his widow and niece. Olymp. clxv. 4. B. C. 147.

Meanwhile, Cyzicenus, the half-brother of Grypus, as he advanced into manhood, became the object of jealousy and persecution. The dangers which he apprehended to his person, seemed to leave him no alternative between a crown and a grave.[130] We know not what resources he might derive from the private inheritance of his father Antiochus Sidetes; but that unfortunate prince, the last of the Seleucidæ who discovered any love for glory, had left many partisans in Syria; and the circumstances of a neighbouring kingdom tended at this juncture to reinforce their numbers. Ptolemy Physcon had reigned twenty-nine years in

[129] Athenæus.

[130] Justin, l. xxxix. c. 2.

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Egypt, without exhausting the patience of his subjects by his bloody tyranny, aggravated by beastly profligacy. He died unmolested in his bed, bequeathing the kingdom of Cyrené to a natural son, Ptolemy *Apion*[131], that is, the slender, a nickname directly opposite to that imposed on the *swollen* father. To his queen Cleopatra, Physcon left his kingdom of Egypt, ordering her to associate in the government whichever of her two sons, Lathyrus or Alexander, she thought fit to prefer.[132] The queen had as little maternal feeling as her ruthless sister, whose monstrous cruelties have recently deformed the annals of Syria. But ambition made her prefer the younger of her sons for a partner in power; and to prevent opposition on the side of his brother Lathyrus, she had contrived to send this prince, before his father's death, as viceroy into Cyprus, an employment considered by him only as an honourable banishment. The Egyptians, and particularly the citizens of Alexandria, espoused the interest of Lathyrus, and loudly demanded that notwithstanding the capricious destination of Physcon, and the unjust option of Cleopatra, the legitimate heir to their monarchy should be called to govern them. Cleopatra yielded reluctantly to the torrent, but before consenting to the coronation of Lathyrus, required him to repudiate his present wife, and to marry her younger sister.[133] Of these succes-

Ptolemy Lathyrus called to the throne.

[131] Justin, l. xxxix. c. 5. Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 121.
[132] Pausanias, Attic. [133] Justin, l. xxxix. c. 3.

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sive wives of Lathyrus, both daughters to Cleopatra, the elder is only known by that appellative common to so many Egyptian females of the royal blood; the other was named Selené, and being a princess, as will appear from her subsequent history, of singular address and spirit, was probably on that account selected by the queen-mother, to whom she was totally devoted, as the fittest instrument for governing the mind of her husband.

Cyzicenus takes the field against his brother Grypus. Olymp. clxiv. 4. B. C. 115.

With this queen-mother, the Jews established in Egypt had long been peculiar favourites. Two individuals of that nation, Chelcias and Ananias [134], sons to the high-priest of Heliopolis, were her counsellors and generals, and the prime directors in all her affairs. They represented to her that their countrymen in Palæstine, so often insulted by the Syrian kings, were in danger of a new invasion on the part of Antiochus Grypus. To avert this evil, it was necessary to abet the cause of Cyzicenus. The divorced Cleopatra, now useful to the views of her mother, was therefore sent into Syria, to become the bride of that prince, with a body of troops from Cyprus for her dower. [135]

Horrid executions of Cleopatra and Triphæna, respectively wives to the rival brothers.

Among the first incidents in the warfare which followed, and which is very imperfectly related, Cyzicenus gained possession of Antioch; shortly afterwards, he was defeated in battle, but effected a retreat to that city, in which, as a place of safety, he had left his newly married wife. While

[134] Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.

[135] Justin, l. xxxix. c. 3.

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he rallied, however, his broken forces, Grypus assaulted and recovered Antioch. Triphæna attended Grypus in this expedition. The eldest daughter of Physcon, Triphæna, had now at her mercy an aspiring sister, who, in marrying a pretender to her husband's throne, had presumed to become her rival. In the rage of wounded pride, she thirsted for Cleopatra's blood; and when Grypus warmly opposed this fell purpose, she thought his expressions keener and stronger than any that *his* cold compassion was likely to dictate. She imperiously demanded that her rival in love, as well as in power, should be subjected to her vengeance. Her impious orders were as impiously executed; since Cleopatra, being pursued into the most venerated sanctuary of Antioch, her arms, while they clasped the divinity of the place, were hacked in pieces by the ministers of her ruthless sister.[136] The mangled princess expired in imprecations for vengeance against profaned religion and parricidal murder. Her prayer was heard; for shortly afterwards Cyzicenus gained a decisive victory. Tryphæna was taken in the rout, and sacrificed to the offended manes of Cleopatra[137]: Grypus retreated to Aspendus in Pamphylia; while his victorious antagonist, under the title of Antiochus IX. Philopator, established his authority over the greater part of Syria.[138]

Olymp. clxv. 1. B. C. 112.

His ascendency in power only displayed the

Cyzicenus — his vile

[136] Justin, l. xxxix. c. 3.

[137] Id. ibid.

[138] Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 69. Conf. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 10.

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amusements.

worthlessness of his character. Equally careless of the affairs of war and government, the new king of Syria indulged in the lowest pleasures, and delighted in the basest society. The intervals of gross bodily gratifications were filled up by listening to the jests of buffoons and by staring at the tricks of jugglers. Puppets and automata [139] formed a favourite amusement. His most royal sport was hunting, but even this was pursued capriciously and vilely. He would often rise in the night, and sally into the field with a few of the meanest attendants. He thus narrowly missed, on repeated occasions, paying the forfeit of his folly to boars or panthers. [140]

Treaty of partition between him and Grypus. Olymp. clxv. 2. B. C. 111.

While Cyzicenus was thus idly employed in Syria, Grypus, in less than twelve months after his retreat, returned from Pamphylia with an army which the proper application of the treasures transported with him rendered numerous and formidable. Such at least it appeared to his brother, who abandoned to him the principal division of the kingdom, and retreated into Cœle-Syria. Grypus, sensible of the difficulty of penetrating into this intricate territory, listened to a compromise founded on a treaty of partition. According to this treaty [141], the Greater or Upper Syria, with its capital Antioch, was resigned to Grypus. Cyzicenus was thenceforth

[139] Diodorus Excerpt. p. 606. Hero, the scholar of Ctesibius, who lived down to the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, composed two books on the subject of Automata. His philosophy was degraded into a puppetshow, for the amusement of childish tyrants.

[140] Id. ibid. p. 607.

[141] Josephus, l. xxx. c. 10. & Porphyr. Fragment. Euscbian.

to reign at Damascus in Cœle-Syria, two hundred miles distant from the residence of his brother. CHAP. XXV.

The vast dominions of the Seleucidæ had been gradually reduced to a single kingdom. That kingdom was now divided between two hostile brothers, and even their respective shares had suffered great defalcations. In the northern part of the country, a small independent state had sprung up in Commagene[142], the district contiguous to the Euphrates. On the sea-coast, the cities of Tyre and Sidon had resumed their ancient liberty[143]; and, in the south, the Jews, under the bold and able Hyrcanus, were formidable enemies to the new kingdom of Damascus, on the territories of which they had already made deep encroachments. To extend their dominion to the original limits of the Holy Land, Hyrcanus, in the twenty-sixth year of his administration, sent his two sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, to lay siege to Samaria.[144] This place, long rival to Jerusalem, was now chiefly inhabited by Syrian Greeks, and seemed to Antiochus Cyzicenus the firmest bulwark of the possessions still remaining to his family in Palæstine. He therefore hastened to the defence of Samaria, but being defeated in battle, was obliged to crave assistance from his neighbour Ptolemy Lathyrus, then reigning in Egypt conjointly with his mother. Lathyrus, without consulting that princess, sent to him a rein-

The territories of the brothers curtailed by their neighbours.

Siege and capture of Samaria. Olymp. clxvii. 4. B. C. 109.

[142] Appian. de Bell. Mithridat.
[143] The αυτονομια attested on medals.
[144] Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.

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forcement of six thousand men. But this succour not answering his expectation, he retired impatiently to Tripoli, leaving his forces under the command of Callimander and Epicrates, of whom the former was slain, and the latter corrupted. Through the treachery of Epicrates, Scythopolis and other strong-holds fell into the hands of the Jews. Samaria surrendered after a year's siege.[145] Its inhabitants were enslaved; the city was desolated and demolished; and the Jews thus obtaining secure possession of the neighbouring territory, Aristobulus, who in little more than twelve months succeeded, as high-priest, to his father Hyrcanus, assumed the royal diadem, and was the first king that reigned in Palæstine after the lapse of nearly five centuries from the sad era of Babylonish captivity.[146] His dominions did not entirely comprehend the three districts of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, since several cities on the sea-coast which, amidst the distractions of Syria had thrown off the yoke of that kingdom, either erected themselves into republics, or submitted to domestic rulers. In the number of the former Ptolemais deserves particular mention, on account of transactions which will presently be related.

Aristobolus king of the Jews. Olymp. clxviii. 2. B. C. 107.

The assistance which Lathyrus had afforded against the Jews, her peculiar favourites, provoked much resentment in his mother. She determined to precipitate him from the throne, and to advance in his stead her younger son

Ptolemy VIII. Lathyrus dethroned by the cruel artifices of his mother.

[145] Josephus, l. xiii. c. 10.

[146] Ibid. c. 13.

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Alexander, then viceroy in Cyprus. For accomplishing this design, she had recourse to a stratagem equally cruel and perfidious. Her eunuchs sallied from the palace of Alexandria streaming with blood, and imploring the aid of the citizens against Lathyrus, "whom, at the price of their wounds, they had hardly been able to restrain from the crime of parricide." An insurrection followed; the palace was assaulted; Lathyrus, apprised of his danger from the enraged multitude, secretly escaped by sea, while his brother, as had previously been concerted, arrived from Cyprus, and took on him the government.[147]

Olymp. clxviii. 3. B. C. 106.

Ptolemy IX. Alexander. Lathyrus still master of a great army. Olymp. clxviii. 3. B. C. 106.

The revolution in his favour had been effected, however, merely through the deluded passions of the capital, and was not generally abetted either by the state or army. Lathyrus, having sailed to Cyprus, was acknowledged in that island; and the forces sent to reduce him, immediately came over to his party. Master of Cyprus, and of an army thirty thousand strong, he watched an opportunity of returning by force into Egypt. Under these circumstances Aristobulus, king of the Jews, after a reign of two years, was succeeded by his brother Alexander Jannæus, who determined to reduce the independent cities on his sea-coast. He began by besieging Ptolemais. The citizens of that place, while they availed themselves of the strength of their walls, looked around for foreign assistance.

147 Pausanias, Attic. c. 9.

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The Syrian brothers Grypus and Cyzicenus had renewed hostilities with each other, and neither of them could be expected to befriend Ptolemais, which had revolted from their family. In Egypt, Cleopatra, who allowed to her son Alexander only the name of king, considered the interests of the Jews as her own. Some feeble aid might be afforded to Ptolemais from Sidon and Gaza, cities which had formed themselves into republics; from Dora, and from Cæsaræa then called the tower of Straton; which two places, under a chief named Zoilus, had asserted independence, and were resolved to maintain it against both Jews and Syrians. But the chief hopes of the besieged city rested in Ptolemy Lathyrus, who, upon the first invitation, sailed with a powerful armament to its relief. The magnitude, however, of this armament, rendered its assistance suspicious; and Demænetus, a favourite demagogue, assured his fellow-citizens, that, on pretence of defending Ptolemais against the king of the Jews, Lathyrus had come with no other view than that of conquering it for himself. Upon his arrival on the coast, the Jewish army had raised the siege; but the gates of the city were kept shut against its deliverer. Stung with this affront, Lathyrus embraced the hostile resolution that had been unwarrantably ascribed to him. One part of his army he left to besiege Ptolemais, while the other, which he commanded in person, marched against the king of the Jews.[148]

He is invited into Syria to oppose the army of the Jews. Olymp. clxviii. 4. B. C. 105.

[148] Josephus, l. xiii. c. 12.

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To this latter measure he was instigated by Zoïlus, styled tyrant of Dora, and by the citizens of Gaza; and further stimulated by the treachery of the Jewish king, who, while he craved peace from Lathyrus, secretly negociated a war against him with Cleopatra, his mother and relentless enemy. But this perfidy recoiled on the traitor. Lathyrus pursued him into Galilee, ravaged that district, took and plundered Asochis, and totally defeated the collected forces of the Jews in a great battle on the banks of the Jordan. The conqueror urged his advantage with blood-thirsty vengeance against a people peculiarly obnoxious to him. Thirty thousand, another report says fifty thousand, Jews, perished in the rout; and the blunted weapons of the pursuers dropped from their wearied hands before they hearkened to the cries for quarter. Even the harmless villages on the Jordan, teeming with women and children, escaped not the merciless havoc. Lathyrus ordered them to be desolated with shocking circumstances of cruelty.[149]

Battle of Asochis—horrid massacre succeeding it. Olymp. clxix. 1. B.C. 104.

Meanwhile, Cleopatra had assembled a great army under the Jews Chelcias and Ananias, her favourites and generals, that they might march to the assistance of their countrymen. She herself sailed to Ptolemais, still besieged by part of the forces of Lathyrus. Her arrival caused the siege to be raised; but the Ptolemæans, as suspicious of Cleopatra as under like circumstances

Ptolemais successively besieged by three mutually hostile armies.

[149] Josephus, l. xiii. c. 12.

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they had recently been of her son, refused to open their gates to this new deliverer. Cleopatra, with the assistance of Ananias, determined to vanquish their obstinacy. Ptolemais was blocked up by sea, and invested by land[150]; so that in the course of three years the same city was assailed by three mutually hostile armies.

Surrenders to Cleopatra. Olymp. clxix. 3. B. C. 102.

Another division of the queen's forces marched under Chelcias to the encounter of Lathyrus. But the Jewish general dying in this expedition, Lathyrus availed himself of the confusion or despondency thereby produced in the enemy, to advance hastily towards Egypt, hoping to find its frontier garrisons so much drained by the forces sent into Palæstine, that they would be unable to resist him. When disappointed in this expectation, he thought proper, before his mother's forces could resume a position for intercepting him, to return towards Gaza, and to throw his army for the winter into that friendly strong-hold. Meanwhile Ptolemais surrendered to Cleopatra. Her hostile son had not ventured to keep the field. She was absolute mistress in Palæstine. Alexander Jannæus came to her with his presents, thanking her for the deliverance which she had wrought for him, and craving the continuance of her protection. On this occasion, Cleopatra's Greek courtiers exhorted her to seize the person of the Jewish king, and to take possession of his country.

[150] Josephus, l. xiii. c. 12.

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But the influence of Ananias[151] prevented her from listening to advice, with which, odious and infamous as it was, Cleopatra might easily have complied without disgracing her character. Having concluded a treaty with Jannæus, she continued in Palæstine to watch the motions of her son, nor thought of re-entering Egypt until that prince had sailed for Cyprus.

Ptolemy IX. Alexander abdicates. Olymp. clxix. 4. B.C. 101.

Upon her return to Alexandria, Cleopatra treated her younger son Alexander with such indignity, that he fled secretly from her presence, determining thenceforward to lead a private life in exile, rather than bear the empty name of king in his native country.[152] About the same time she learned that a common enmity to the Jews had occasioned a close friendship between Lathyrus and Antiochus Cyzicenus. A treaty was in fact concluded between these princes at Damascus, by which the former was to be assisted by the whole disposable force of the latter, in a new attempt to re-enter the kingdom from which he had been expelled by the cruel artifices of his mother. To ward off this blow, Cleopatra sent into Syria her daughter Selené, the wife whom she had first forced on Lathyrus, and of whom she is said to have afterwards as forcibly deprived him. This princess, a dexterous and ready instrument of Cleopatra's ambition, was to marry Grypus, the perpetual rival of Cyzicenus, and by exciting a new war between the brothers, to create such troublesome employment for the

The designs of Lathyrus and Cyzicenus defeated by female management.

[151] Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

[152] Justin, l. xxxix. c. 4.

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younger in Syria, as must prevent him from assisting Lathyrus in his projected invasion of Egypt.[153] The intrigue succeeded to Cleopatra's wish, and Lathyrus's enterprise was again disconcerted. But his mother, as she saw the Alexandrians, the most unruly portion of her subjects, unwilling to obey her government, unless supported by one or other of her sons, was reduced to the necessity of recalling Alexander from his voluntary abdication.[154] He yielded with reluctance to the conditions with which she flattered him; foreseeing that he should be again mortified by affronts or encompassed with dangers.

Ptolemy IX. reinstated by his mother. Olymp. clxix. 4. B. C. 101.

Amidst increasing disorders in Egypt and Syria, Ptolemy Apion died childless at Cyrené. He was on the father's side brother to Lathyrus and Alexander; but the animosities between these princes, their odious or contemptible characters, and the profligate ambition of their mother Cleopatra, who tyrannised over the one after persecuting and expelling the other, made Apion overlook the claims of both, in the destination of his kingdom. By a formal testament, he declared the Romans his heirs, as the ancient or most respectable allies of Egypt, of which Cyrené, ever since its conquest by the first Ptolemy, had been regarded as a dependancy. The Romans, still stunned by the invasions of the Teutones and Cimbri, and soon afterwards called to engage in the Marsic and

Ptolemy Apion bequeaths Cyrené to the Romans. Olymp. clxx. 4. B. C. 97.

[153] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxviii.

[154] Justin, l. xxxix. c. 4.

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Mithridatic wars, did not think proper for twenty years to avail themselves of this bequest in their favour, otherwise than by declaring the Cyrenæans a free people, exempt from every foreign jurisdiction, and subject only to such regulations as might best suit and please them.[155] In consequence of this measure, dissensions arose between the capital Cyrené and the four other communities originally forming the Pentapolis, at the same time that each city and district in the country became a prey to domestic factions. To remove these evils, the Romans, at their first conveniency, reduced Cyrenaica into a province.

Murder of Grypus. Olymp. clxx. 4. B. C. 97.

Antiochus Grypus had not been long united to Selené, when he reaped the bitter fruits of that marriage in renewed hostilities with his brother. He was assassinated soon after by Heracleon, a vain and profligate courtier, who, intoxicated with most undeserved honours heaped on him, aspired to supplant his master.[156] But Cyzicenus hastened to Antioch, and, for a moment, joined that kingdom to his own of Damascus. His pretensions were speedily disputed by his nephews, the five sons of Grypus, the eldest of whom, under the name of Seleucus VI. Nicator, challenged him to battle, and obtained a decisive victory. Cyzicenus either perished in the combat[157], or was slain immediately

Death of Cyzicenus.

155 Conf. Tit. Liv. Epitom. lxx. & Plutarch. in Lucull.

156 Porphyr. Fragment. Trogi. Pomp. Prolog. l. xl. Conf. Josephus, Antiq. l. xiii. c. 13.

157 Id. ibid.

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Olymp. clxxi. 2. B. C. 95.

after by order of the conqueror[158]; or, according to another report, died by his own hands[159], unable to brook his disgraceful defeat by so young a prince, against whose father he had sustained an equal warfare for the space of eighteen years.

The war continued between their respective sons.

Antiochus Cyzicenus left only one son, who, from his zeal and success in avenging his father's death, is entitled Antiochus X. Eusebes.[160] Through the boldness of a courtezan, enamoured of his beauty, he escaped the dangers to which the victory of Seleucus exposed him. The partisans of his family, and the money which, according to the Syrian custom, had been placed in deposit for his use, made him master of Apamæa, and drew to him an army with which, in his first battle, he had the good fortune completely to vanquish his adversary, and to drive him into ignominious flight towards the mountains of Cilicia. In an unseasonable attempt to extort money from Mopsuesta, a Cilician city, which still acknowledged a loose dependence on the Syrian monarchy, the fugitive Seleucus provoked a conspiracy of the citizens, and, either perished by his own hand[161], or was burned to death with his attendants in a gymnasium, or palace, which, upon his first coming to Mopsuesta, had been generously assigned for his dwelling.[162]

Seleucus VI. burned to death. Olymp. clxxi. 4. B. C. 93.

158 Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.
159 Porphyr. Fragment.
160 The pious, viz. towards his father.
161 Porphyr. Fragment. Eusebian.
162 Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13. Appian. de Reb. Syr. c. 69.

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When Seleucus thus perished, two of his brothers, Antiochus and Philip, twins, were on the northern frontiers of Syria; and two younger brothers remained, according to the usage of their country, in safe custody at Cnidus, that they might escape the dangers of the times. The twins, to their respective names of Antiochus XI. and Philip I., added the common epithets of Epiphanes and Philadelphus, and thus united in titles of honour as they had been in their birth, prepared to assert a joint sovereignty over their paternal dominions. Their first care was to avenge the cruel death of their brother on the incendiaries of Mopsuesta. With forces hastily collected from the remains of his scattered army, they marched into Cilicia, surprised Mopsuesta, massacred the inhabitants, and, to satiate their undistinguishing rage, spent much precious time in razing the obnoxious city.[163] After this fruitless exploit, they joined their partisans in Syria, and, soon coming to a battle with their adversary, Antiochus X. Eusebes, were defeated on the banks of the Orontes. In passing that river on horseback, Antiochus XI., one of the twins, was drowned[164]; the fourth king of Syria that had suffered violent or accidental death, in the course of less than five years.

Antiochus XI. drowned in the Orontes. Olymp. clxxi. 4. B. C. 93.

His brother Philip made a skilful retreat, and was enabled by the following occurrence

Philip I. and De-

[163] Conf. Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 69, 70. Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

[164] Porphyr. Fragment.

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again to appear in force. Antiochus Eusebes had taken to his bed Selené, widow of Antiochus Grypus, and formerly wife to Ptolemy Lathyrus, who considered the new espousals of this princess as an affront to himself. To revenge it, he drew from his retreat in Cnidus, Demetrius, the fourth of the brothers, and enabled him to gain possession of Damascus, where he assumed the diadem under the title of Demetrius III. Eucærus [165], an epithet denoting the seasonableness of his appearance in arms. The alliance of the two brothers rendered them more than a match for Antiochus Eusebes, their common enemy. He was compelled to cross the Euphrates, and to crave protection from the Parthians, who, under the great Mithridates II. had extended their conquests to the eastern bank of that river. Through their powerful interposition, Antiochus Eusebes triumphed in his turn over the brothers, now unhappily disunited; and Demetrius III. being made prisoner by a Parthian general, was carried into the upper provinces of that empire, where he died in captivity. [166]

Demetrius III. Eucærus. Olymp. clxxii. 1. B. C. 92.

Demetrius III. carried into Parthia. Olymp. clxxiii. 1. B. C. 88.

Antiochus XII. Dionysus.

The commotions in Syria, however, were not yet at an end; for the last of the five Syrian brothers, afterwards styled in history Antiochus XII. Dionysus, upon learning Demetrius's detention in the East, asserted his right of succession to the vacant throne of Damascus. The favour of the citizens, and other inhabitants

165 Josephus, l. xiii. c. 13.

166 Conf. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 13. & Excerpt. ex Histor. Nicol. Damasc.

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of Cœle-Syria, enabled him to maintain this pretension for two years against his cousin-german Antiochus Eusebes, against his brother Philip, and against the rapacious Arabs in his neighbourhood, who had been long lying in wait to grasp the spoils of an oppressed and distracted kingdom.[167] At the end of this period, Antiochus XII. Dionysus, having forced his way through Palæstine in spite of the opposition of Alexander Jannæus king of the Jews, fell in a desperate battle with the Arabs: most of his followers were cut in pieces[168]: and the natives of Cœle-Syria despairing of protection from Antiochus Eusebes, or from Philip, still engaged in relentless hostilities with each other, called to the throne of Damascus, Haleth, an Arab chief, whose name is hellenised into Aretas[169], and who deserved a Greek name, by such attainments in elegant learning as were always neglected or despised among his Nabathæan countrymen.[170]

Killed in battle with the Arabs. Olymp. clxxiii. 4. B. C. 85.

Moved by this example, the inhabitants of Antioch and other Syrian cities, long weary of the crimes and calamities of the Seleucidæ, began to look around for some foreign dynasty, more able to defend, and more worthy to govern them. An attentive review, as will be shown presently, of the state of neighbouring powers, made them choose for their protector and so-

Annexation of Syria to Armenia. clxxiv. B. C. 84.

[167] Conf. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 13. & Excerpt. ex Histor. Niccol. Damasc.

[168] Josephus, l. xiii. c. 14.

[169] Id. c. 15. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 751.

[170] Id. ibid. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 581. & Sales's Preliminary Discourse to the Koran, p. 14.

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vereign, Tigranes king of Armenia.[171] Amidst the disorders immediately preceding this election, Philip I. should seem to have perished, since his name thenceforth disappears from history. Antiochus Eusebes saved himself by flight, and continued to lurk in an obscure corner of Cilicia.[172] His queen Selené, of a bolder spirit, occupied some strong-holds in Commagene. The troops and treasures with which she was accompanied, enabled her to defend her possessions for a dozen years, and to educate in splendour two sons, whose history will afterwards be related.[173]

Ptolemy IX. Alexander murders his mother. Olymp. clxxii. 4. B. C. 89.

Shortly before Syria thus passed from the dominion of the Seleucidæ, a new tragedy in Egypt reinstated Ptolemy Lathyrus in the throne. His brother Alexander grew weary of holding the bare name of king, while Cleopatra usurped the sovereignty. That princess perceived his impatience of submission, and, in order to punish it, determined to have recourse to measures familiar to her age and family. But while she hesitated between the bowl and the dagger, Alexander anticipated, by the latter, her fell purpose.[174] Her murder was no sooner known, than the Alexandrians flew to arms. Cleopatra was deserving of many deaths, but she ought not to have fallen by the hand of her son. That son too, resembling in person the abomin-

[171] Justin, l. xl. c. 1. Conf. Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 48.
[172] Id. ibid. c. 2. [173] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 749.
[174] Pausanias, Attic. c. 9. Athenæus, l. xii. p. 550. Justin, l. xxxix. c. 4.

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able Physcon, had shown that, if successor to his power, he would rival his monstrous tyranny. Apprised of the vengeance which threatened him, Alexander fled beyond seas; and Lathyrus was recalled from Cyprus, to take on him the government. He had hardly resumed it, when his expelled brother having possessed himself of much treasure, which their common mother and grandmother had deposited against future emergences in the secure island of Côs, collected a mercenary armament, and made successive and equally fruitless attempts for re-entering Egypt and Cyprus. Alexander was pursued by Lathyrus's fleets under Tyrrhus and Chæreas, and finally captured and slain by the latter of these commanders.[176]

Is slain in a war with his brother Ptolemy VIII. Lathyrus. Olymp. clxxiii. 2. B. C. 87.

From this time forward Lathyrus reigned five years undisturbed by foreign or domestic enemies, until the last scene in his administration was deformed by a rebellion of the ancient capital Thebes, and of the once imperial nome or district surrounding it. By the removal of the seat of government, first to Memphis, three hundred and fifty miles north of Thebes, and afterwards to Alexandria on the sea-coast, the great primeval metropolis of Egypt had gradually declined in populousness and splendour. That destruction which the hand of time carried on slowly and insensibly, the havock of war now suddenly completed. After enduring a desperate siege for three years, Thebes was

His subsequent reign. Olymp. clxxiii. 2—clxxiv. 3. B. C. 87—82.

[176] Porphyr. Fragment. Græc. Eusebian.

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taken by the enraged conqueror, and by him stripped of every removeable monument of its ancient grandeur.[176] This is the last recorded event in the reign of Ptolemy VIII. Soter, nicknamed Lathyrus[177], it is thought, from a mole resembling the lathyrus or vetch, on his face. He died, bequeathing the isle of Cyprus to a natural son, known only by the common appellation of Ptolemy, and leaving Berenicé, his sole legitimate offspring, to inherit his kingdom of Egypt. The reign of Berenicé had scarcely lasted six months, when Sylla, the Roman dictator, gave[178] her a husband and a murderer in Alexander II. her cousin-german, the son of that Alexander who had been the supplanter, the antagonist, and finally the victim, of her father Lathyrus. Three years before Sylla set this vassal on the throne of Egypt, the Syrians had given themselves to Tigranes king of Arménia. Thenceforward the pure Greek kingdoms, and even the Greek commonwealths of the East, in respect of any real independence, might be regarded as extinct: but a memorable war of twenty-seven years[179] had begun in the peninsula of Asia, which was to decide whether the Romans, or a new power, half Grecian and half Barbarous, that had hastily sprung up on the Euxine, should be master of Syria, Egypt,

His daughter Berenicé married to Alexander II. Olymp. clxxiv. 4. B. C. 81.

[176] Pausanias, Attic. c. 9.

[177] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. N. H. l. ii. c. 67.

[178] Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 102.

[179] Plin. N. H. l. vii. c. 26. He says thirty years, *in round numbers.*

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Macedon, Achaia; in a word, of all the dominions of the great Alexander on this side the Euphrates.

State of letters, arts, and sciences. Olymp. clx. 2. B. C. 139. Olymp. clxxii. 4. B. C. 89.

The period of fifty years preceding this obstinate conflict, was an age of weakness and disgrace, rather than of positive or general misery. The rancorous animosities among the Greek kings proved ruinous to themselves, and those partisans who abetted them from personal interest, without the smallest mixture of public principle. Their hostilities, whether foreign or domestic, were carried on by small bodies of men raised among their immediate dependants. Cities were defended against them by their walls, and temples protected by their sanctity. Their petty wars suspended not the labours of agriculture, nor interrupted the operations of commerce: the native productions of the soil every where abounded, and far-fetched objects of luxury were diffused through the most remote parts of the empire: so that the last unworthy races of Alexander's successors, while they lost much territory and many subjects, should seem to have been incapacitated, by their unworthiness itself, from inflicting deep wounds on the countries still acknowledging their authority. The inhabitants of those countries still prosecuted arts, sciences, and letters; and their Greek kings, contemptible in other respects, still encouraged them in this favourite career, congenial to their name and nation. Physcon, the worst of all the Ptolemies, studied so assiduously[180]

[180] Athenæus, l. xxiv. p. 654.

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under the grammarian Aristarchus, that he himself deserved the name of Philologer.[181] He wrote twenty-four books of historical commentaries. His name is numbered among the critics who laboured on the text of Homer[182]; and he spared no pains to enrich the Alexandrian library with the most authentic and correct manuscripts that could possibly be procured. This laudable undertaking, however, was disgraced by the capricious tyranny with which it was carried on. All ships arriving in his dominions were searched: the books found in them were seized[183]: copies were made by the king's transcribers, and given in return for the detained originals, which were carefully deposited in the Serapeon, a library which Physcon is thought to have founded[184] in the noble temple of Serapis.[185] From the Athenians, Physcon obtained the works of their three great tragic poets, upon depositing a pledge of fifteen talents, that the same manuscripts should be restored to them: he disgracefully forfeited

[181] Epiphan. de Ponder. & Mensur. p. 182.

[182] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 549. & l. xiii. p. 576.

[183] These books he distinguished by the inscription, εκ πλοιων, "from ships." Galen. Comment. ad Epidem. Hippocrat. l. ii. c. 23. If Mr. Larcher had adverted to this passage, he would have had no difficulty in explaining one in Xenophon's Anabasis: πολλαι τε βιβλοι και τ' αλλα πολλα δσα εν ξυλινοις τευχεσι ναυκληροι αγεσι. Xenoph. Anab. l. vii. p. 543. Edit. Hutchin. "Many books, and many other things, which sailors carry in their wooden chests." Books were carried with them by Greek sailors, it should seem, both for entertainment and for sale.

[184] It was long posterior to the library of Bruchion, and called fantastically "the daughter." See above, vol. ii. p. 119.

[185] See above, vol. ii. p. 139.

his pledge [186], about three thousand pounds in value. This zeal for augmenting his library was heightened by rivalship with the contemporary king of Pergamus. [187] To prevent that prince from multiplying his volumes, Ptolemy forbade the exportation of papyrus from Egypt: the invention of parchment in Pergamus was the fruit of this invidious prohibition. [188]

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Historians.

Under princes so careful about the works of the ancients, there abounded living authors whose names are incidently mentioned by Strabo, chiefly, and Athenæus, but of whose merit there is no longer an opportunity to judge. The class of travellers [189] and geographers [190] was particularly numerous: and many were the historians of their own times, whose loss is deeply to be regretted. Chance has preserved, from the reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus, three books of the mythological library of Apollodorus of Athens; but his contemporary, Apollodorus of Artemita, had treated of the Parthians and Bactrians [191]; Artemidorus of Ephesus, and Menecrates of Nysa, had illustrated the history of Bithynia [192]:

[186] Galen. & Epiphan. ubi supra.

[187] Reges Attalici cum egregiam bibliothecam ad communem delectationem instituissent, tunc item Ptolemæas infinito zelo, &c. Vitruvius de Architect, l. vii. in Præfat. Conf. Plin. l. xiii. c. 11. Mox æmulatione circa bibliothecas regum Ptolemæi et Eumenis, &c.

[188] Plin. l. xiii. c. 11.

[189] By sea as well as land: witness the innumerable περιπλοι. See above, vol. ii. p. 519.

[190] Mnaseas of Patræ, Demetrius & Metrodorus of Scepsis, &c. Strabo, Plin. Stephan. de Urb. & Athenæus passim.

[191] Strabo, l. xi. p. 516.

[192] Plutarch. in Theseo. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi.

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the same subjects were discussed more elaborately by the great Posidonius of Rhodes[193]: All these works have perished; and with them much interesting information concerning nations and countries of great relative importance in the age in which those historians flourished.

Poets.

For reasons formerly assigned, eloquence, truly Attic[194], was little cultivated or known: but that good taste in poetry was not yet extinct, appears from the idyls or little poems of Moschus and Bion, breathing love and pleasure, beautiful throughout, and adorned with many touches of exquisite delicacy. Moschus, as well as Ptolemy Physcon, was a disciple of Aristarchus[195]: his young friend Bion died before him, and Moschus laments his premature loss in pathetic strains of nature, heightened by the refinements of art. In the succeeding reign, Sositheus[196] carried off the palm of tragedy: Anaxipolis[197] was the most approved writer of comedy; other poets perpetuated to the Augustan age the golden chain of Grecian harmony; witness Parthenius of Nicæa, called the master of Virgil[198]; and whose lost work, under the same Greek title, is said to have given birth to the Metamorphoses of Ovid.[199]

Philosophers.

The cultivators of arts and sciences were

[193] Athenæus passim. [194] See above, vol. ii. p. 320.
[195] Suidas & Euseb. in Chronic. [196] Suidas ad Voc.
[197] Plin. l. xiv. c. 14.
[198] Macrobius, Saturn. l. v. c. 17. Conf. Aulus Gellius, l. xiii. c. 26.
[199] The above-mentioned αλλοιωσεις of Antigonus should seem to have been a work of the same nature.

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scattered over innumerable cities in the three divisions of the world. But Athens, Rhodes, and Alexandria maintained a decided pre-eminence. The literary glory of Athens resulted chiefly from the still subsisting schools of Plato and Aristotle.[200] Rhodes was renowned for the stoic Panætius, the companion, as we have seen, of Scipio Æmilianus, in his embassy to Egypt, and whose lost work on "Offices" Cicero professes to imitate.[201] Apollonius, also of Rhodes, was the most distinguished scholar of Panætius[202]; and Posidonius, a native of the same city, in which he continued to reside, was the greatest ornament of the following age, as a stoic philosopher, an historian, and a geometer.[203]

Mathematicians.

Geometry, and the branches of knowledge depending on it, are those stubborn sciences which cannot easily recede; they greatly flourished in Rhodes and in Alexandria. Nor was Athens unwilling to exchange the fame of eloquence for that of geometry, even before she had been confounded and degraded, with other Greek cities, into the form of a Roman province. Archimedes's two noblest treatises[204]

[200] By means of these schools, propriety of sentiment and good taste in writing, was better upheld in Athens than in any other Greek city. Cicero de Fin. l. v. c. 3. et seq.

[201] Cicero de Offic. passim. [202] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 65.

[203] Suidas ad Voc. Conf. Cicero de Natur. Deorum, l. ii. c. 34, 35. & Lucian. in Macrob.

[204] "On the sphere and cylinder," and "on spiral lines." These admirable treatises inscribed to one friend, contain investigations left imperfect by the premature death of another. This was Conon of Samos, whom Archimedes again praises in his Quadrature of the Parabola, and of whom we have above spoken, vol. ii. p. 460.

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are dedicated to Dositheus, a young mathematician of Athens. As an improver of astronomy, this Dositheus forms the link between Eudoxus before mentioned, and Hipparchus of whom we shall speak presently; and, in the same interval, Apollonius of Perga[205], acquired the title of the great geometer[206], a title which the ingenuity and subtlety displayed in his conic sections will be found amply to justify. Hipparchus, who closely followed Dositheus and Apollonius, made observations in his native city Nicæa, in Bithynia; at Rhodes[207], capital of that island; and especially at Alexandria, during the reigns of the Ptolemæan brothers Philometor and Physcon, from the 154th to the 163d Olympiad.[208] In Hipparchus, indeed, the Alexandrian school may be said to have reached its highest glory. He greatly improved the system of excentric spheres first proposed by Eudoxus; and Pliny says, that he predicted the courses and aspects of the sun and moon for 600 years.[209] For determining precisely the length of the solar year, he chose one of his own observations of the summer solstice, compared with a similar observ-

[205] Pappus Mathemat. Collect. l. vii. p. 251.

[206] Proclus & Pappus, l. vi. & Phot. Biblioth. p. 190.

[207] Suidas and Strabo.

[208] Ptolem. Syntax. Magn. l. iii. c. 2.

[209] N. H. l. ii. c. 26. But Pliny's encomium has too much enthusiasm to be relied on. "Hipparchus performed a task that would have been daring in a god: he bequeathed to his successors an inheritance in the heavens: none has so well proved the congeniality of man with the sublimest objects in nature, and that the human mind is an emanation of the divine."

ation of Aristarchus of Samos made 145 years before. He found that the solstice came round twelve hours sooner than it ought to have done, on the received supposition that the year contained 365 days and 6 hours. This loss of 12 hours in the lapse of 145 years, he ingeniously divided among the sun's 145 annual revolutions, and thereby reduced the solar year by the space of five minutes.[210] With this discovery, the precession of the equinoxes stands connected in the relation of cause and effect; and of this precession Hipparchus treated under a different name, in his famous work, now lost, "on the retrogradation[211] of the equinoctial and solstitial

[210] Ptolem. Syntax. Magn. ubi supra.

[211] Hipparchus's work was entitled περι της μεταπιπτωσεως των τροπικων και ισημερινων σημειων. Ptolem. Syntax. Magn. l. ii. c. 2. By comparing the observations of Hipparchus with his own, made 265 years afterwards, Ptolemy concluded the precession of the equinoxes to be 1° in 100 years. But the secular precession is now ascertained to be 1° 23′ 45″; which gives 2150 for the passage of the Equinox over one sign or 30°. Accordingly, the Equinox is now near the beginning of Pisces. The earliest Zodiacs all begin with Aries: they are all Grecian, or derived from the Grecian; and our present sphere is a mere picture of Grecian mythology. The reasonings, therefore, concerning the antiquity of the world, founded on astronomy, are inconclusive. In his "Indian Astronomy," the learned and unfortunate Bailli carries its era back to 3000 years before Christ; and his doctrine is maintained by Professor Playfair, in Edin. Transactions, vol. iv. p. 103. But La Place, the greatest mathematician of the age, proves, by the Indian tables themselves, that their date is later than the age of Ptolemy the geographer, who died An. Dom. 161. Exposition du Système du Monde, p. 294; which conclusion of La Place is confirmed by Mr. Bentley's paper in the Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. p. 542. This paper shows Mr. Bailli and Professor Playfair's reasonings to have arisen from their want of accurate information concerning the artificial system of the Hindoos.

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points." These points he discovered to have moved backwards, that is, from east to west, contrary to the order of the signs of the zodiac; which retrocession in point of space causes the precession in point of time. To these important discoveries he is said to have been led by the appearance, in his time, of a new star. This suggested to him the enquiry, whether the firmament underwent variations in its fabric; towards the solution of which question he determined to ascertain the number and position of the stars, and to leave a complete picture of the heavens for the contemplation of posterity. This picture was delineated by him on a solid sphere, which should seem to have been left by Hipparchus in the Musæum of Alexandria[212], with a projection of it on a plain surface, as more convenient than a large globe for examination and conveyance.[213] His success in numbering the stars is mentioned with rapture, by a writer zealous for the fame, but careless to improve his own work by the labours of this great astronomer.[214] In making his catalogue of the stars, Hipparchus described their relative position in the heavens according to their distances in degrees from two great circles of the sphere. This happy contrivance he transferred from astronomy to geography[215], and first described the habitable earth by the degrees of

[212] Ptolem. Syntax. Magn. l. vii. c. 1.

[213] Synesius de Don. Astrolog. inter Oper. Synthetic.

[214] Plin. l. ii. c. 12. & 26.

[215] Strabo, l. i. p. 7. Conf. l. ii. p. 131. Neither Strabo, nor Pliny, who speak so highly of Hipparchus, adopted his clear and concise mode of geographical description.

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longitude and latitude, according to the method now universally adopted. He was the inventor also of trigonometry[216]; but, indefatigable in study and passionately fond of truth[217], he was slow in digesting his numerous works; so that the glory both of his astronomy and geography was reaped at the distance of three centuries, by Ptolemy, his great follower, in the mathematical school of Alexandria.[218] Of the intermediate mathematicians[219] between these luminaries of science, we have very imperfect accounts; for the Greek and still more the Roman writers, from whom such biography might have been expected, were exclusively attentive to ethics and politics, to arms and eloquence.[220]

[216] Theon. Comment. ad Synt. Magn. l. i. c. 9.

[217] Syntax. Magn. passim. & l. iii. c. 2.

[218] Agathem. Epitom. Geograph. l. i. c. 6. & Proclus Hypotyp. Astron. posit. The only work of Hipparchus, now remaining, is his commentary in three books on the Phenomena of Aratus. It is entitled, "On the Phenomena of Eudoxus and Aratus," the reason for which title, see above, vol. ii. p. 301.

[219] The name even of Hipparchus does not occur either in Seneca or in Plutarch, though the former might have been expected to speak of him in his "Natural Questions," and the latter in his "Sentiments of Philosophers concerning Nature." Cicero names Hipparchus but once, and that casually as an opposer of Eratosthenes's Geography. Epist. ad Attic. l. ii. c. 6. Conf. Strabo, l. i. p. 7. The Romans, as Cicero says, Tusculan. l. i. c. 1. confined their study in mathematics to such operations of measuring and numbering, as were indispensable in the affairs of ordinary life.

[220] The age of Geminus, author of the Element. Astronom. is uncertain: Sosigenes, as we shall see, enabled Julius Cæsar to reform the Roman Kalendar; Theodosius, noticed by Strabo, l. xii. p. 566. & Vitruv. l. ix. c. 9. has left Mathematical Elements of Spherical Astronomy, still the classic book on the subject. Two less important treatises ascribed to him, περι νυκτων και ἡμερων, and περι οικησεων, contain geometrical demonstrations of the different phenomena resulting from differences of local habitation.

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Political State of Asia. — Four Powers interposed between the Romans and Parthians. — Mithridates Eupator. — First Stages of his Reign. — His Conquests, and Resources. — Sylla's Embassy. — Nicomedes III. *of Bithynia. — He plunders the Greek Cities on the Euxine. — Forbearance of Mithridates. — His Treaty with Tigranes of Armenia. — Success in all Parts of the Peninsula. — Massacre of the Romans there. — Sylla takes Athens. — Defeats the Pontic Generals in Greece. — Concludes Peace with Mithridates. — Triumphs over his domestic Enemies.*

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Political state of Asia, and characters of its sovereigns. Olymp. clxx. 1. B. C. 100. The Parthians. The Romans.

A CENTURY before the Christian era, the political state of Asia, and still more the characters of those who bore sway in that continent, announced a long and fierce conflict, likely to be maintained with no less obstinacy of emulation than vigour of military resources. In the vast tract of territory between the Euphrates and the Indus, Mithridates II. of Parthia, having restored and consolidated a powerful empire, reposed on his laurels at Hecatompylos in an honourable old age, and with the title of Great, which foreigners as well as natives bestowed on him.[1] At the western extremity of Asia Minor, the Romans had for thirty years been masters of the

[1] Justin, l. xlii. c. 5.

kingdom of Pergamus, but had been prevented from greatly extending their dominion eastward, by the seditions of the Gracchi[2], a war of five years with Jugurtha[3], the invasions of the Teutones and Cimbri[4], not to mention the necessity of perpetual operations on the side of Macedon against the untamed Thracians and Illyrians, and perpetual warfare in Spain against the spirit of stubborn independence or indignant rebellion.[5] Having surmounted all these obstacles, Rome was ready to direct the strength of the West against the riches of the East; and though, in consequence of the change of manners formerly explained, her senators were no longer characterised by proud simplicity and incorrupt dignity, and her citizens had sadly degenerated from their ancient frugality and honesty[6], yet the pursuit of vast public interests mingled with and helped to conceal the personal ambition and insatiable avarice of the great; and perpetual exercise in arms, encouraged by rewards, and promises, and flattery, served in some measure to supply, in the multitude, the want of those nobler principles of patriotism and true honour, and that sounder military

[2] Plutarch. in Vit. Gracchor.

[3] Salust. de Bell. Jugurth.

[4] Plutarch. in Mario.

[5] Conf. Tit. Liv. l. xxii. c. 21. & l. xxviii. c. 12.

[6] Cicero, in his oration for Flaccus, speaks of the honesty of the Romans even forty years after this period, and contrasts it with the dishonesty of the Greeks; but this is the language of the bar, studious not of what is true, but of what is useful to the cause in hand.

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discipline, which had long made the legions invincible.

Four powers interposed between them.

Between the dominions of the Romans and Parthians, four independent kingdoms intervened; on the side of Rome, Bithynia and Cappadocia; and on the side of Parthia, the far greater powers of Pontus and Armenia. Mithridates V. of Pontus, six years after he had assisted the Romans in the conquest of Pergamus, was slain[7] by domestic treachery in the Greek city Sinopé, his favourite residence. He left behind him a son in his thirteenth year, Mithridates VI. Eupator, memorable for a reign of sixty years, of which the former half, obscure as it is in history, was nevertheless a fit preparation for the splendour that followed it. Even in the earliest youth, being of a character that scorned submission, and that was prompt to rebel against every legitimate authority, he rendered himself so obnoxious to his mother and tutors, that they determined on his destruction.[8] But the various snares, which they laid for him, redounded only to his advantage or glory. When encouraged to mount too mettlesome horses, he learned to tame their fiery spirit; when assailed more secretly by poison, he took precautions

Mithridates VI. Eupator — his pursuits in youth.

[7] Strabo, l. x. p. 477.

[8] Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 1. et seq. His careless abridgement ill supplies the place of Trogus Pompeius; and the latter, did his work remain, could not compensate for the lost history of the great Posidonius, who must have treated fully of the reign of Mithridates. Athenæus, l. v. p. 211. 214. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 753. & Lucian in Macrob.

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for rendering it harmless, and at length invented the famous Mithridate[9]: in danger of assassination in his apartment, he lived seven years without knowing the confinement of walls, spending his whole day in the chace, and sleeping in the open air in the midst of companions attached to his fortunes, and rivals of his manhood. By this mode of life he hardened his body, which nature had cast in the finest mould of heroic beauty[10], into a fit companion for a mind enterprising and fervid, filled with lofty hopes, and bent on grand designs, in the prosecution of which he was alike indefatigable and fearless. In a sudden return to Sinopé from the banks of the Thermodon, he cut off the enemies by whom his youth had been endangered, not sparing his mother[11], the accused murderer of his father, and who had long thirsted for the blood of her only son. To compensate by respect for one parent his stern punishment of the other, he assumed the title of Eupator, as if his highest boast consisted in the fame of his father's virtues. Of his two sisters, the elder Laodicé had been given in marriage to Ariarathes VII. of Cappadocia: he himself, according to the fashion of eastern kings, espoused the younger, who bore the same common name; an appellative as frequent in Pontus as Cleopatra in Egypt; while the historians of both countries

[9] Plin. N. H. l. xxv. c. 2. & c. 6.

[10] Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 112.

[11] Appian. ibid. Conf. Memnon. apud Phot. c. xxxii. p. 727.

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His travels, and reflections.

often conceal from us the proper names by which even royal personages were distinguished.

Shortly after this marriage, Mithridates having reason to suspect the fidelity of his wife, undertook, with a few chosen friends, a long series of travels through the various regions of Asia. Being at peace with his neighbours, he had an opportunity of examining at leisure the strength and the weakness of the principal states in that vast continent; the strength likely to resist his arms, the weakness that invited his usurpation. On the side of the East and of Parthia, he saw but a doubtful conflict: the North and the West offered to him more tempting prospects. The Scythians beyond the Euxine were not at that time united under any one warlike khan or chieftain: and the states of western Asia, though nominally allies to Rome, were most of them jealous of that power, and all of them mutually hostile to each other. The kingdom of Pergamus, with the annexed districts in Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Phrygia, felt all the oppression of provincial government, which continually grew more intolerable with the encreasing vices of Rome; the rapacity of generals, the extortion of publicans, the tyranny of the equestrian order, which, by a strange solecism in polity, united the financial administration in the provinces, with the supreme judiciary power both at home and abroad. In this quarter, Mithridates's travels encouraged his daring projects, which, however were nearly blasted on his

return to Pontus by female perfidy. Laodicé had brought forth a son, of whom it was impossible that he should be the father. To escape the punishment of her adultery, she tendered to her husband a poisoned cup[12]; but Mithridates, apprised both of her perpetrated and meditated crimes, crushed the viper in his bosom, and turned to pursuits that easily obliterated in his active ambitious mind this scene of domestic horror.

His Greek subjects on the Euxine — their services.

From the fruitful dales, watered by the Iris and Thermodon, the dominion of Pontus had been extended, in the last reign, to Heraclæa and Trapezus, two warlike Greek cities on the Euxine, about five hundred miles asunder, by means of which, and the many intermediate places of the same description, Mithridates was furnished with instruments well qualified to second his views, either in arts or arms. Throughout his whole reign the Greeks were his ministers and generals, as well as his engineers and architects; the companions of his activity and the amusers of his idleness.[13] Their services were peculiarly useful in disciplining his Paphlagonians and Cappadocians, many tribes of whom were called Leuco-Syrians, because, being a mixed race of Syrians and Thracians, they differed conspicuously in their complexions from the southern and darker Syrians on both sides the Euphrates.

[12] Justin, l. xxxvii. c. 3.

[13] Strabo, l. x. p. 557. & l. xiii. p. 609, 610, et passim.

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His extensive conquests.

With an army which added the tactics of Greek infantry to the rapid evolutions of Paphlagonian [14] cavalry, and which he had taught to keep the field in all seasons, Mithridates, in successive expeditions, reduced the neighbouring nations on the Euxine, particularly the Colchians, so renowned for peaceful arts, in the traditions of antiquity, and justifying that renown, by the picture of industry and prosperity [15], which they exhibited in the time of Mithridates. They cultivated flax and hemp, they were manufacturers of linen for all the countries around them: by means of their temples and factories, they carried on a profitable commerce with the fiercest tenants of Caucasus; and possessing, in abundance, timber, canvas, cordage, and pitch, they built innumerable vessels, of small burden indeed, but well adapted to the navigation of the seas and great rivers in their neighbourhood. Mingrelia, nearly corresponding to the ancient Colchis [16], is said to contain four millions of inhabitants, and to export annually twelve thousand slaves. How much greater must have been its resources, when the gifts of nature, were improved by incessant labour? From Colchis, Mithridates advanced northward to the small but respectable kingdom in the Tauric Chersonesus. In this remote peninsula, he received

[14] The whole of Paphlagonia had been added to Pontus by Mithridates V. Vid. Oration. Mithridat. ad exercitum, apud Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 4. et seq.

[15] Strabo, l. xi. p. 497, 498, 499. Conf. Plin. l. vi. c. 5.

[16] Reinegg's Description of Mount Caucasus.

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the submission of a successor, and probably a descendant of that Leucon, who, in the age of Philip and Demosthenes, annually supplied the Athenians with 400,000 bushels of corn.[17] From the Greek colonies which adorned the northern banks of the Euxine, and which extended themselves three hundred miles inland from the mouths of the Borysthenes and the Tanais[18], the invader encountered not any memorable resistance. The fiercer Scythian tribes at first unsuccessfully opposed, and afterwards reinforced his arms. How far he carried his conquests on this side, history does not record; but it is mentioned to his praise that, as Alexander discovered the East, and the Romans the West, so the North was first explored and made known by the victories of Mithridates.[19] His dominions, when he first interfered with the Roman allies in Lesser Asia, stretched 2,000 miles in length.[20] They consisted of twenty-four nations, speaking as many different languages, in all which the tenacious memory of Mithridates made him a master.[21] This latter circumstance is the only thing extraordinary in the report. For the district of Caucasus alone, the towering isthmus between the Euxine and Caspian, has been noted, both in ancient and modern times, for a still greater variety of dia-

Variety of languages in Caucasus — its cause.

[17] Demosthen. in Leptin.
[18] Herodot. l. iv. c. 104. Conf. Strabo, Plin. Dionys. Perieget.
[19] Strabo, l. i. p. 14.
[20] Appian de Bell. Mithridat. c. 15. Conf. Strabo, l. xi. p. 498.
[21] Plin. l. c. 24. l. xxv. c. 2. Aulus Gellius, l. xvii. c. 17.

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lects. This tract of country, which Mithridates often pervaded as a conqueror, connecting geographically Sarmatia and Scythia with Assyria and Persia, is the high road of communication through which the exuberant populousness of the North has continually flowed, to repair the wasteful luxury and corroding effeminacy of the South. At Dioscurias, the general emporium of Caucasus, Strabo speaks of seventy, some writers said a more incredible number of nations and tongues; so that this isthmus or passage between the two great divisions of the eastern continent, should seem to have retained specimens, as it were, of the various passing tribes in their successive migrations.[22]

The Pontic ambassadors treated with contumely at Rome. Olymp. clxix. 4. B. C. 101.

Mithridates, having in some measure consolidated his obscure barbarous empire, long pondered his own strength before he ventured upon a more splendid theatre of action. His natural wish was to extend his dominion to the Grecian sea; but, in this design, he must encounter the Romans, and, before them, their allies in Cappadocia and Bithynia. That he might interpose in the affairs of these kingdoms without creating jealousy, or at least without rousing immediate opposition, he sent ambassadors loaded with gold to Rome, where the events of the Jugurthine war (for we shall see that such transactions escaped not his vigilance), were sufficient to assure him that all was venal. On this occasion the activity of faction

[22] See Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 278.

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disconcerted his intrigues. The people at large, who were apprised of many acts of delinquency in their superiors, began to view all their proceedings suspiciously, nay malignantly; and the party-spirit or envy of Saturninus, afterwards a fit accomplice of the bold and bloody Marius, hurried him into undistinguishing resentment against the ambassadors of Pontus, whom, as bearers of the king's bribes, he treated with the utmost contumely. It belonged to the senate to take cognisance of such outrages against the law of nations. Upon complaint of the ambassadors, Saturninus was therefore tried by the senate; but such was the concourse of persons who espoused his cause, that his judges ventured not to condemn him. The favour of the multitude raised him soon afterwards to the tribunate.[23]

Mithridates's machinations against Cappadocia thwarted by his sister Laodicé.

This unseasonable occurrence did not divert Mithridates from his purpose. His sister Laodicé, wife to Ariarathes VII. of Cappadocia, had borne to that prince two sons, then in early youth. Should their father die, the king of Pontus, as guardian to his nephews, would become master of Cappadocia. Ariarathes was removed through the agency, it was believed, of a certain Gordius instigated, according to report, by Mithridates to the treacherous murder of his sovereign.[24] But in his design of taking on him the government of Cappadocia, the au-

[23] Appian. Dion. & Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxix.
[24] Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 1.

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thor of the crime found himself thwarted by the bold spirit of his sister Laodicé, who asserted her right of administration during the minority of her son; and to obtain a powerful abettor of this pretension, gave herself in second marriage to the aged Nicomedes II. who, for nearly half a century, had filled the neighbouring throne of Bithynia. This transaction, intercepting the fruits of his iniquity, enraged Mithridates against Nicomedes, and still more against Laodicé and her sons.

He allows his nephew to reign there on condition that Gordius should be reinstated in power.

He immediately took the field with a great army, for his adversary Nicomedes could muster 50,000 foot, and 6000 horse. Mithridates, however, overcame all difficulties, except the unalterable loyalty of the Cappadocians to their hereditary kings, descendants of the satrap Anaphas, who had assisted Darius Hystaspis in overturning the usurpation of the magi; and whose high-born line had been wonderfully[25] rescued from the vengeful arm of Perdiccas, the immediate successor of Alexander the Great. Wishing to associate and subdue the Cappadocians, not to extirpate them, Mithridates allowed them to place the elder of his nephews on their vacant throne, requiring, as the only condition on their part, the recall and reinstatement of Gordius, who had been banished, as he gave out, on groundless suspicions.[26]

Mithridates invades Cappado-

But Ariarathes VIII. made no haste to bring back a man stained with the foul imputation of

[25] See above, vol. i. p. 351.

[26] Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 1.

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cia, murders his nephew Ariarathes VIII. in a parley.

treasonable murder; and when urged on this subject by his uncle, put his kingdom in a posture of defence, confident in the affectionate zeal of his people. To answer this defiance, Mithridates entered his frontier at the head of 80,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, together with an alarming train of 600 armed chariots, winged with scythes, to sweep the Cappadocian plains. Notwithstanding this formidable force, his adversaries did not decline an engagement. Both armies were arrayed for battle, when Mithridates, sensible of the havoc that must be made among a people whom he already grasped as his property, summoned his nephew to a parley. As a preparation for this conference, persons were sent, according to the usual practice in such cases, to make sure that neither of the opposite chiefs carried with him any concealed weapon. Mithridates had a dagger artfully hid in his girdle, which, being handled with little ceremony by those sent to search him, he desired them to take care lest they should discover something very different from an instrument of death; and, having inspired confidence by this coarse jest, avoided the detection of the flagitious villany which he meditated, and which, in the moment after, he inhumanly perpetrated.[27] The assassination of their youthful and beloved king, in the presence of both armies, instead of rousing the Cappadocians to revenge, filled them with consternation. They

[27] Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 1.

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threw down their arms in dismay, and submitted to the victor.

Despair of Ariarathes IX. and extinction of the long line of Cappadocian kings. Olymp. clxxi. 4. B. C. 93.

But from this effect of sudden terror they as suddenly recovered, when Mithridates, having quitted their country, left them in the hands of his lieutenants. The younger brother of Ariarathes VIII. to elude the dangers of the times, had, according to a custom which we have often noticed, been deposited in safe custody in one of the islands or walled cities of Lesser Asia. A revolt of the Cappadocians enabled him, under the name of Ariarathes IX., to mount the throne of his ancestors. But his reign lasted only a few months, for Mithridates, descending from the heights of Caucasus, whither his affairs had called him, defeated and dispossessed this unfortunate young prince, who died of grief in exile[28]; and with him ended the long line of Anaphas, which, either as hereditary satraps or as kings, had governed Cappadocia 440 years.

Laodicé the queen-mother, sends a supposititious son to Rome to claim his father's kingdom.

During the transactions above recorded, Laodicé, through the protection of her husband Nicomedes escaped her brother's vengeance. Exasperated now, in her turn, by the cruel destruction of her children, she concerted with that aged prince a scheme for depriving Mithridates of the fruits of his multiplied crimes. A youth of obscure descent, but of a graceful figure and winning behaviour, was taught to personate a third son of Ariara-

[28] Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 2.

thes VII. and Laodicé, and was conducted to Rome by his mother, under an escort of Bithynians, to claim assistance from the senate against the murderer of his father and brothers, and the usurper of his kingdom. To counteract this intrigue, Mithridates employed Gordius, whom he found equally well qualified to second either his craft or his cruelty, and sent him at the head of a splendid embassy, to convince the Romans that a child only eight years old, and really his own son, whom he affected to treat as king of Cappadocia, was the only surviving descendant of the illustrious Ariarathes VI. the civiliser of his country, the faithful ally of Rome in the Pergamenian war, and who, in that war, had died in their cause. The senate, however, was not the dupe of such artifices. Since the time that Pergamus had been reduced into a province, the Lesser Asia was filled with Romans under a variety of characters, civil as well as military, and engaged in various pursuits both of a public and private nature, though the class employed in commerce seems to have been incomparably the most numerous. From the reports of their countrymen settled in the East, the Romans knew what to think of the frauds that would have been practised on them by Laodicé and her brother; and could not enough admire their equal and frontless impudence. In contempt of their fictitious kings, the senate therefore declared the Cappadocians a free people, and gave orders for in-

Mithridates counteracts her intrigues by falsehoods equally audacious.

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timating this decree to all persons concerned in it.[29]

The Cappadocians acknowledge their unfitness for enjoying liberty.

The first opposition to a measure, apparently so unobjectionable, came from an unexpected quarter, that of the Cappadocians themselves. They confessed, that liberty was not a fit present for them, because they were not in a condition rightly to enjoy it. "In a commonwealth like Rome, long engaged in important transactions at home and broad, there flourished many able and enlightened citizens, qualified to rule over each other in vicarious succession, and who had been trained by habit to command with temper, and obey with dignity. Such was not the state of Cappadocia, a country still rude and undisciplined, but whose inhabitants, ignorant of other matters, yet knew enough of themselves to be convinced that they could not live without a king." The Romans, not a little astonished at this rejection of freedom, a blessing in their eyes so precious, gave intimation that the people of Cappadocia should choose themselves a king from their own nation. They chose Ariobarzanes, a person recommended by his nobility, his opulence, and his equity: a party, indeed, clamoured for Gordius; but, by the majority, that candidate was held in detestation.[30]

Chuse Ariobarzanes for king.

Sylla sent from Rome to secure his peaceful accession.

To confirm Ariobarzanes in his high dignity, the senate employed Sylla, who had been pretor the preceding year at Rome, and had distinguished his pretorship by combats of [illegible]

[29] Strabo, l. xii. p. 540.

[30] Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 1.

and other wild beasts from Africa.[31] This reminded the Romans of the Numidian war, of which Sylla had gained the palm of glory by the capture of Jugurtha.[32] He was naturally pointed out, therefore, for an expedition in which he might have to encounter a prince as bold and crafty as Jugurtha, and far more powerful. But Mithridates, whose designs had been long meditated, did not think proper to risk their ultimate success by too sudden a disclosure of them. The affections of the Cappadocians running in a strong current for Ariobarzanes, he allowed him with little, and that only a secret opposition, to be established on the throne.

Olymp. clxxii. 1. B. C. 92.

Sylla should seem to have made a progress with the new king through his dominions, since he appeared with him on the Euphrates, where it separates Cappadocia and Armenia. On the banks of this river, a Parthian ambassador came to the Roman pretor, offering the friendship of his master, old Mithridates II. This was the first transaction between the Romans and Parthians, nations destined to war for three centuries with each other. Sylla received Orobazus, for that was the stranger's name, with much courtesy, except that in his tent he took his own seat between the Cappadocian king and the Parthian ambassador, thus claiming, in his quality of Roman magistrate, the most honourable place. For submitting without remon-

Sylla's progress with Ariobarzanes, and encounter with a Parthian ambassador on the banks of the Euphrates.

[31] Plutarch. in Sylla.

[32] Sallust. Bell. Jurth.

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strance to this degradation, Orobazus, upon his return home, was punished capitally, as a traitor to the dignity of his country. Yet his fault admitted extenuation on the principles at all times acknowledged in the East; for a soothsayer and physiognomist in his suit, on carefully observing the lineaments of Sylla, declared it as a matter of inevitable necessity that this Roman should attain unrivalled greatness, and that the more he considered him, the more he was astonished that he had not already reached the pinnacle of fortune.[33]

Tigranes II. of Armenia, is persuaded by Mithridates to invade Cappadocia and dispossess Ariobarzanes. Olymp. clxxii. 3. B. C. 90.

The principal opposition which Sylla encountered in settling the government of Cappadocia arose, not from the inhabitants of that country, but from their neighbours the Armenians. This latter people, we know not for what reason, warmly espoused the interest of Gordius. Their king, Tigranes II. had long resided as a hostage in Parthia, but, upon the death of his father of the same name, a lineal descendant of Artaxias, the founder of their monarchy, the son was restored to his birth-right on condition of ceding to the Parthians a large district in Armenia, denominated the seventy valleys. The accession of Tigranes II. happened fifteen years before the election of Ariobarzanes; during which period, especially during the declining age of Mithridates II. of Parthia, Tigranes had availed himself of favourable circumstances greatly to augment his kingdom. He was a man certainly of

[33] Plutarch. in Sylla

enlarged views; but vain, ostentatious, and inconsiderate, endowed with more activity than energy, insolent in his foreign policy, and imperious in domestic government. To this prince, the king of Pontus, not thinking the moment arrived for making war openly on Rome, applied in the warmest terms of attachment and confidence; he gave him his eldest daughter in marriage; and describing Ariobarzanes, as he really was, a man of a mild and feeble character, easily prevailed with Tigranes to send an army into Cappadocia, which expelled the newly elected king, and took possession of the country.[34]

Socrates is assisted by him in expelling his brother Nicomedes III. king of Bithynia.

About this time, Nicomedes II. of Bithynia closed his long reign of fifty-six years, leaving for his successor a son of the same name, born of Nysa, a dancing woman, but acknowledged as king by the Roman senate, probably for reasons of great cogency with the more corrupt members of that body. This Nicomedes III. had a brother named Socrates, whom Mithridates encouraged to claim the crown, under the plea that, on the female side, his descent was the more honourable. A war ensued between the brothers, and through the assistance furnished to him by the king of Pontus, Socrates, who assumed the title of Chrestos, "the Thrifty," prevailed in several engagements, and at length drove his rival from the country. The two expelled princes, Nicomedes and Ario-

[34] Appian. Mithridatic. c. 67. Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 3.

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The two deprived kings restored by the authority of Roman commissioners. Olymp. clxxii. 4. B. C. 89.

barzanes fled for redress to Rome, the scourge indeed of kings in their pride of power, but the ordinary refuge of dispossessed sovereigns. They were favourably heard in the senate, which immediately decreed their restoration; and, for this purpose, named at the head of a commission into Asia, Manius Aquilius, a man of consular dignity, who, ten years before, had happily terminated an insurrection of slaves in Sicily, by slaying with his own hand Athenio, their active and intrepid leader.[35] The proconsul, in the province of Pergamus, Lucius Cassius, had orders to co-operate, if necessary, with the commissioners; who, if they found themselves obliged to act in the character of generals, were entitled also to summon to their standard all the friendly powers of the East, not excepting even the king of Pontus, whom, as he had not yet openly declared himself, the Romans still affected to regard as their ally. Vested with such authority, by the assistance only of a slight detachment from Pergamus, and some bodies of auxiliaries raised hastily in Galatia and Phrygia, Aquilius speedily reinstated the exiled kings; and resettled, for a time, the affairs of Cappadocia and Bithynia.[36] From the former country, the lieutenants of Tigranes passed beyond the Euphrates; and from the latter, Socrates escaped into the dominions of Mithridates, where his death, shortly afterwards, afforded

35 Diodorus, Eclog. p. 556.

36 Appian. Mithridatic. c. 11. et seq.

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that prince a reason, or pretext, for arraigning the blood-thirsty persecution of Rome, to which, as the only expedient for preserving peace, he had been compelled, he said, to sacrifice an unfortunate prince who had fled to him for protection.[37]

Nicomedes plunders the Greek cities on the Euxine. Olymp. clxxiii. 1. B. C. 88.

The facility with which Aquilius and his coadjutors had accomplished the business committed to them, made it be too hastily concluded, that the name of Rome inspired such terror as would sanction every outrage. Young Nicomedes had promised to the commissioners and the persons employed under them, large sums of money as remunerations for their good offices; he had also contracted heavy debts to the Roman traders and money lenders abounding in all the cities of Lesser Asia. Solicited by his restorers to the throne, and pressed by his creditors, he was forced on speedier methods for contenting both, than those afforded by the slow annual revenues of a kingdom far richer in men than in money. On the promise of support from Rome, he therefore retaliated the injuries which he had received from Mithridates, by a sudden inroad into Paphlagonia, where he carried his depredations even to the wealthy city Amastris on the Euxine.

Forbearance of Mithridates — reasons thereof.

Instead of retorting hostilities with that promptitude which might have been expected from a prince so powerful and so well prepared for action, Mithridates sent successive embassies

[37] Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 5.

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with complaints of this aggression, both to the Roman senate, and to the Romans invested with power in Asia. He had several reasons for this forbearance, of which two chiefly deserve notice. Rome was about this time compelled to take up arms against her subjects in Italy, who had been encouraged by the popular faction in the capital, to claim the rights of Roman citizens. If Mithridates too soon threw off the mask of moderation, he feared lest his enemies should conclude peace at home, in order the more strenuously to carry on operations against himself abroad. He waited, therefore, before taking the field, to see them deeply and inextricably involved in what is called the Marsic or Social war; a delay which turned out highly useful for him. His second reason was to prove to all those powers that either were already, or whom he wished to become his allies, that the Romans deserved the whole blame of approaching commotions likely to deform the fairest regions of Asia.[38]

Mithridates's treaty with Tigranes, by which the latter was to make prize of all moveables — causes of this condition. Olymp. clxxii. 3. B. C. 90.

Meanwhile, he concluded an intimate alliance with his son-in-law Tigranes, plainly meant for aggression, since that prince was to make prize of all moveables, not excepting the persons of the enemy; whereas Mithridates was to content himself with rifled towns and bare depeopled territories.[39] To account for this singular compact, it must be observed that Tigranes was then building his new capital Tigrano-

[38] Appian. Mithridatic. c. 12.

[39] Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 3.

certa[40], near the Tigris, about three hundred miles south of his ancient residence Artaxata on the Araxes. He needed men and moveables to people and replenish the vast circuit of the walls which his ostentatious vanity had traced: whereas Mithridates could easily fill up the void which such transportations might occasion, having under his dependency those parts of Scythia which have been emphatically styled the storehouse of nations, and whose wandering inhabitants were always ready to exchange the keen air of their deserts for the softer and more voluptuous climates of Southern Asia.

Mithridates's success in a great war in all parts of Lesser Asia. Olymp. clxxiii. 1. B. C. 88.

The haughty answers which Mithridates received from the Roman generals, convinced him, before the return of his ambassadors, that war was ready to be levied on him. Without further delay he therefore marched his army, and expelling Ariobarzanes from Cappadocia, re-established there, according to his original plan, his own son under the soothing name of Ariarathes. Upon this decisive measure, the Roman generals, without waiting orders from their republic, took the field with a great army to recover Cappadocia, and with two divisions, each 40,000 strong, to defend Bithynia. Their ally Nicomedes mustered 50,000 foot, and 6000 horse. The land forces of Mithridates amounted at this time to 290,000, of which 40,000 were cavalry; and his fleet on the Euxine consisted of 400 sail. The greater part of these mighty pre-

[40] Strabo, l. xi. p. 532. Plutarch. in Lucull.

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parations were brought into action, but the events of a war equally disgraceful and calamitous to their country, the Roman historians have omitted circumstantially to record. We must be contented to know [41] that the first memorable engagement gained Bithynia to Mithridates, while it secured to him the possession of Cappadocia. This decisive battle was fought on the frontier of the former kingdom, and near to mount Scoroba, which, towering above the river Amnias, served as the ancient boundary between Bithynia and the dominions of Pontus. For so important a victory Mithridates was much indebted to his Greek generals Archelaus and Taxiles, brothers; Dorilaus, Craterus, Pelopidas, and Neoptolemus. To prosecute his good fortune, the conqueror hastened into the central province of Phrygia, and pitched his tents on a spot famous for the encampment of Alexander the Great, deeming this circumstance auspicious to his own lofty designs. From Phrygia, his army dispersed in three directions, to over-run the two sides and the front of the peninsula of Lesser Asia. Their squadrons of light Sarmatians swept the plains, and their enterprises against the walled cities were facilitated by the generous treatment bestowed on all captives, whose dress and language did not betray them for Romans.[42] Upon the sea-coast, Mithridates's fleet was equally triumphant; the

[41] Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 15. et seq.

[42] Appian. ibid. Conf. Diodorus, Excerp. p. 612.

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enemy's guard-ships were driven from the Bosporus and the Hellespont.

Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes again at Rome.—Cruelties of Mitl. dates to the Roman generals.

Amidst the shipwreck of all their fortunes, the authors of this fatal war endeavoured by flight to save their persons. The kings Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes again escaped to Rome. Aquilius, whose anguish of mind had weakened and disordered his body, fled to Mitylené, in the isle of Lesbos. Appius, proconsul of Pamphylia, sought refuge in Laodicea; and Cassius, proconsul of Pergamus, expected, as we shall see, on better grounds, the same favour at Rhodes. Aquilius and Appius were surrendered on the first summons, as peace-offerings to the conqueror. They were treated with equal indignity during life[43]; and Aquilius, whose boundless avarice had occasioned so many evils, was subjected to a death of abominable cruelty. After long following the victor's train, tied on the back of an ass, and compelled to proclaim that he was Manius Aquilius, the Roman consul, his ignominy was inhumanly ended at Pergamus, by the pouring of melted gold down his throat.[44]

Massacre of 80,000, others say 150,000 Roman settlers in Asia. Olymp. clxxiii. 1. B. C. 88.

This dire punishment served as a prelude to a still more dreadful enormity. Mithridates, who deemed his hold of Lesser Asia insecure, while its cities were crowded with Romans, formed a secret plan for murdering all of them in one day, and at a month's distance from the

[43] Cicero pro Leg. Manil. c. 5.
[44] Plin. N. H. l. xxxiii. c. 5.

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time when his measures for the massacre were concerted. Pergamus, Ephesus, Adramyttium, in general the Greek cities on the sea-coast, were the main scenes of this unparalleled barbarity, which cut off 80,000[45], another account says 150,000[46], natives of Italy. Of this catastrophe, the modes and instruments combined every variation of cruelty. Some Romans fell victims round the statues of the gods, whose protection they implored; some died supplicating pity on the hearths of once hospitable friends; a great number perished by the hands of angry debtors and resentful slaves, from neither of which classes they could expect mercy.[47]

The Romans compelled to terminate disgracefully the Social or Marsic war. Olymp. clxxiii. 1. B. C. 88.

When such disasters, and ignominy worse than disaster, assailed the Romans in Asia, their capital was a prey to that relentless discord, which in the course of six years ended in the dictatorship, or rather the despotism, of Sylla. This grand crisis in the commonwealth arose immediately out of the Social war, in which the Marsi and their allies, having obtained the object for which they contended, thereby doubled suddenly the already too numerous voters in the Roman assemblies. These new voters, however, were thrown into eight of the thirty-five ancient tribes[48], and thus restricted to less than a fourth

[45] Memnon apud Phot. c. xxxiii. p. 730. Valerius Maximus, l. ix. c. 2.

[46] Plutarch. in Sylla. Dion. Legat. 37.

[47] Appian de Bell. Mithridat. c. 22. et seq.

[48] Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 20.

share in the right of suffrage and sovereignty exercised by the Roman people; a proportion of power which by no means contented them, though they acquiesced in it, for the moment, as a temporary expedient. In the height of their animosity to Rome, they had sent an embassy to Mithridates, craving his co-operation with them in Italy. But he wrote to them that he could not sail thither, until he had previously conquered Asia[49], meaning thereby the western division of that continent; upon which answer, they first listened to negociation, and soon afterwards concluded peace with Rome on the terms just mentioned.

Factions in Rome — Marius, his views.

But this peace was made with enmity still rankling in their hearts, and ready to be brought into action by bad men to gratify their own selfish ambition. The same profligate leaders, who of late courted popularity within the city by Agrarian laws and lavish distributions of corn, were now equally clamorous for the full and equal participation of all Italians in the right of citizenship. In the blindness of political faction, which can see nothing but its leader, and him always under a flattering and false aspect, the most zealous party-men among the ancient citizens abetted the cause of the new, though their real interests were evidently opposite. At the head of these seditious levellers were Sulpicius, Cethegus, Suetonius, Junius Brutus; the Marii, father and son, the former of whom, Caius

[49] Diodorus, Eclog. l. xxxiii. p. 540.

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Marius, was the prime mover of all, and a man who, for the misfortune of his country, possessed high military abilities, without one civil attainment or one moral virtue. To oppose this barbarous soldier, totally destitute of arts, letters, and urbanity, all of which his bold ignorance contemned, Fortune raised up Sylla, whom that goddess claimed for her own, while he, as willingly acknowledged her for his sovereign mistress. Yet the good fortune of Sylla consisted in his scorn for death and danger, in the consciousness of his own superior powers, and in an habitual presence of mind, the fruit of anticipation and forethought. With such qualities, in a subordinate station, he eclipsed the glory of Marius in the war with Jugurtha. For a dozen years after this sharp conflict, he seemed careless of public employments, being occupied chiefly in the cultivation of letters and philosophy, but mingling pleasure, or rather profligacy, with wit, learning, and refinement. From this inactive middle state, he emerged, as we have seen, to repress the first bold measures of Mithridates; and, at the breaking out of the Marsic war, he engaged and served in it with singular zeal and energy, his abilities still enlarging with the occasion, and his fame still towering above that of Marius and every other general. At the ensuing elections in Rome, he first offered himself a candidate for the consulship in his fiftieth year, and then attained that well-merited dignity, with the commission of making war, with six legions, on the king of

Sylla, his character.

Appointed general against Mithridates, but divested of command by an un-

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Pontus. But while he marched towards Brundusium, to cross the Hadriatic into Greece, the tribune Sulpicius, by a tumultuary assembly of the tribes, in which the new citizens voted promiscuously with the old, divested him of his command, and constituted Marius, now on the verge of seventy, general against Mithridates, a prince in the vigour of life, and the meridian of military glory.[50]

lawful vote of the tribes. Olymp. clxxiii. 1. B. C. 88.

Sylla beheld the sudden storm that was ready to blast his fortunes, and prepared to dispel it. None knew better, than he did, how to manage the minds of soldiers. To his legions encamped in Campania, he intimated the injustice done to him at Rome, and had the art of persuading them, that the insult offered to their general's honour, was levelled at their own emoluments. Marius, he said, had his creatures and favourites among the troops, whom he wished to gratify with the spoils of Asia; and that, with the appointment of a new commander in this lucrative service, new legions would also be employed. Accordingly, when officers arrived in the name of Marius to take charge of the men and stores, they were slain in a military tumult; an outrage which was speedily retorted on Sylla's friends and relatives in the city. With a promptitude of decision that characterised all his measures, and made them always successful, Sylla marched towards Rome: his enemies either betook them-

He marches to Rome, punishes his enemies, and restores the ancient government. Olymp. clxxiii. 1. B. C. 88.

[50] Plutarch. in Sylla, & in Mario. Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 50. et seq.

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selves to flight, or retired into the capital and other strong-holds. He drove them from thence by setting the neighbouring streets on fire; and having thus destroyed or expelled the authors of sedition, abolished the legislation of the tribes, re-established the authority of the senate, and settled the government, in all other points, on the old aristocratic model.[51]

Mithridates unsuccessful against Rhodes and Magnesia — causes thereof.

After this domestic victory, he hastened across the Hadriatic, to oppose the enemies of the state. In the midst of general success, the troops of Mithridates had been foiled[52] in the assault of Magnesia at the foot of mount Sipylus; and he himself, being defeated in a sea-fight at Rhodes, thought fit to desist[53] from the siege of that illustrious island, then desperately defended by such Romans as had escaped from the battles and massacres in Lesser Asia. The pertinacious resistance of Magnesia may also, in some measure, be accounted for. In the neighbourhood of that city, the Scipios had triumphed over Antiochus the Great; and though that decisive victory dated beyond a century, yet its memory still inspired the Magnetes with awe for the Roman name and with zeal in opposing its enemies.

Athens sends an embassy to Mithridates, he gains the

The same sentiments prevailed not in the cities of ancient Greece, and particularly in Athens, ever destined to act a conspicuous, if not an honourable, part in the revolutions of

[51] Plutarch. in Sylla, & in Mario. Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 50, et seq.

[52] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxxi.

[53] Diodor. Excerp. p. 615.

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that country. For the space of fifty years, the Greeks restrained from the unhappy licence of domestic warfare, enjoyed no ignoble tranquillity under the government of Rome, being indulged with the management of their municipal concerns, and the hereditary forms of their ancient free polities. The literary renown of Athens had recommended her to peculiar regard and exclusive honours; yet the Athenians, out of envy, pusillanimity, or mere levity, were the first of the Greeks to send an embassy to Mithridates, and to crouch to the greatness of a prince whose army commanded all Lesser Asia, except the district of mount Sipylus, and whose fleet overawed all the adjacent isles, with the single exception of Rhodes. The ambassador, chosen by the Athenians, was a certain Aristio, son to Athenio the Peripatetick, but himself an Epicurean, and among the vilest offspring of that sect, since, to the refined pleasures of social virtue and intellectual exertion, he preferred the base gratifications of voluptuousness and tyranny.[54] He seemed, however, to Mithridates, a fit person for his purpose; and, being gained to his interest, was entrusted by him with a body of 2000 men, who, under pretence of escorting some treasures from Delos destined to sacred uses, entered Athens, and procured for their leader, already powerful with the multitude, an absolute ascendency in that city.[55]

ambassador, and throws a garrison into the city.

54 Plutarch. in Sylla.

55 Posidonius apud Athenæum, l. v. p. 211. et seq.

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Sylla arrives; takes Athens by assault. Olymp. clxxiii. 3. B. C. 86.

Meanwhile Sylla advanced through Thessaly and Bœotia, every where restraining defection, or receiving tenders of submission. But Athens had shut her gates, and manned her walls, Aristio commanding in the city, and Archelaus, a Pontic general, holding possession of the Piræus. Both places were besieged with vigour, and both were defended with obstinacy. The neighbouring cities were laid under contribution to supply materials and workmen. Twenty thousand mules were employed for the service of Sylla's carriages and engines. To pay his troops, he spared not the richest and most venerated of the Grecian temples; those of Delphi, Epidaurus, and Clympia. At length the Athenians, reduced to the utmost distress by famine, sent deputies to capitulate. That they might obtain better terms, they began to expatiate on the ancient virtues and renown of their republic; but Sylla replied sternly, "I came hither, not to be amused by oratory, but to punish rebellion." Two days after, the city was taken by assault; upon which Archelaus sailed hastily from the Piræus, abandoning that harbour also to the enemy.[56]

Mithridates betrayed by the same weakness which had ruined Antiochus the Great.

During the siege of Athens, Mithridates, being master at sea, had repeatedly succoured the place, and sent successive divisions of his forces into Thrace, which at length amounted to two great armies. While he remained in person at Pergamus, settling the affairs of Lesser

[56] Plutarch. in Sylla, & Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 29. et seq.

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Asia, his intention was to fight, by his lieutenants, the Romans in Greece, which he considered as a sort of neutral ground between his own dominions and Italy. The design was unwise, for six veteran legions, and still more, Sylla who commanded them, required the skill and energy of a master-antagonist; but it is remarkable that Mithridates, at the commencement of his war with Rome, was betrayed by the same weakness which, on a similar occasion, proved ruinous to Antiochus the Great. In recently taking possession of Stratonicæa in Caria, he had been smitten with the charms of Monima, daughter to Philopœmen, a Greek inhabitant of that place. This resistless beauty he raised to the partnership of his throne; and the festivities with which he celebrated his nuptials, and still more the intemperance which accompanied and followed them, made the marriage of Monima as fatal to the interests of Mithridates[57], as that of the fair maid of Chalcis had formerly proved to those of the king of Syria.

His great army in Greece—Dromichætes the Thracian.

The Pontic forces in Thrace were joined by those of Dromichætes, a hereditary name among the chieftains of that untamed country, ever hostile to Rome, and always ready to abet her opponents. Besides Dromichætes the Thracian, these forces were led by Taxiles and other generals; but, according to Mithridates's orders,

[57] Plutarch. in Sylla, & Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 22. et seq.

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the whole of them, upon their arrival in Greece, were to obey Archelaus who left the Piræus abruptly, in order to put himself at their head. He, accordingly, joined the first division which had passed through Macedon into Thessaly[58], driving before them the Romans employed in civil or military affairs in that province. Sylla, being apprised of the enemy's approach, hastened from Attica into Bœotia, and arrived in time to save the important city Chæronæa. Disappointed of admission into this place, Archelaus, with little attention to the nature of his troops, consisting, besides innumerable archers of a phalanx of spearsmen, and a heavy cavalry richly caparisoned, chose his position on the hill of Thurium, which rises in the neighbourhood, and ascending by various ledges of rocks, that form so many natural terraces, terminates at length in an abrupt and narrow summit. In such a post, the Asiatics who were three times more numerous than the Romans, thought themselves secure from attack. They were disappointed. A citizen of Chæronæa made known to Sylla a secret path, by which he fell suddenly on their rear. This attack was decisive; and the battle, a mere rout, and one of the most remarkable on record, if 100,000 Asiatics fell, with the loss only of 12 Romans; for Sylla related in his memoirs that fourteen were missing, two of whom afterwards made

Battle of Chæronæa, in which Archelaus is defeated with the loss of 100,000 slain. Olymp. clxxiii. 3. B. C. 86.

[58] Macedon and Thessaly then formed one Roman province. See above, c. xxiv.

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their appearance. Archelaus, with about 10,000 fugitives, escaped to Chalcis in Eubœa.[59]

Battle of Orchomenos — the Asiatic camp stormed.

Shortly after this memorable victory, Sylla learned that his absence from Rome had been followed by a renewal of disorders. Cinna, though consul by his sufferance, had basely broke faith with him: Marius was restored from exile beyond seas, where his gloomy vengeance had brooded over the ruins of Carthage[60]; the whole frame of the government was subverted; and Flaccus, with Fimbria for his lieutenant, had sailed with a reinforcement of two legions towards Greece, that he might command as consul in the Mithridatic war. Upon this intelligence, Sylla determined to treat the approaching legions as enemies, and hastened towards the Hadriatic to combat them at their first landing. But he had not proceeded beyond Thessaly, before he was informed that a new Asiatic army had entered the more southern parts of Greece which he had just quitted. This new army, being transported to Eubœa, had joined forces with Archelaus at Chalcis. It was 80,000 strong, and consisted chiefly of cavalry. Its commander was Dorylaus, nephew to a general of the same name, who, from his skill in tactics, and his writings on that subject, was called Dorylaus the tactician. The uncle had been the friend and favourite of Mithridates V. Euergetes; the nephew rendered himself equally ac-

[59] Plutarch. in Sylla. Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 42, et seq.
[60] Plutarch. in Mario.

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ceptable to the successor of that prince, who now dispatched him into Greece to co-operate with Archelaus.[61] Upon returning southward, Sylla found the enemy in the plain of Orchomenos, a city ten miles distant from Chæronæa, the scene of the former battle. The district abounded in forage, and was well adapted to the operations of cavalry. Sylla descended into it by the heights nearest to the lake Copais, and took post among the adjacent marshes. From this position, he began to draw lines ten feet broad into the plain, but his workmen were soon obstructed, and they, as well as the troops that guarded them, thrown into great terror. The enemy's line, covered by the Pontic and Paphlagonian squadrons, advanced to a sudden assault. The Romans fell back, and their officers being unable to rally them, Sylla leaped from his horse, and, seizing an ensign, exclaimed, "Let it be told in Rome that I was forsaken by my troops at Orchomenos."[62] At that instant many officers sprang forward to second him; they were supported by the bravest troops; the remainder followed through shame; a sharp conflict ensued; and the Asiatics, being put to the rout, were pursued to their camp with the loss of 15,000, of whom 10,000 were cavalry. Without allowing them time for recovering from this blow, the Romans, with compacted shields under the form of the

[61] Strabo, l. x. p. 478.

[62] Plutarch. in Sylla, & Appian, c. 49.

testudo, attacked the hostile camp. The rampart was warmly defended, and the combat the more bloody, because the enemy, cooped up within a narrow space, could not make the appropriate use of their arms, but collecting their arrows into fasces, fought with them hand to hand, as with swords. Many were slain in the camp, and many being pursued towards the marshes of Copais, were there drowned, or cut in pieces, while they vainly implored mercy in languages unknown to the victors. Archelaus, with a feeble remnant, again escaped to Chalcis. [63]

Operations of Fimbria, a partisan of Marius.

The dreadful defeats of Mithridates's generals spread revolt among his allies and subjects. The spirit of defection became the bolder and the more general, when the Roman army in the Marian interest, finding the Bosporus unguarded, passed from Byzantium into Asia. This army, in consequence of a deadly quarrel between Flaccus and his lieutenant Fimbria, had fallen into the hands of the latter; a man unprincipled and audacious, and who, having excited the soldiers to murder his own superior and their general, endeavoured to efface this enormity by acting with uncommon vigour against Mithridates. [64]

Lucullus Sylla's questor, collects a

At the same time, this prince was in danger from a more unexpected enemy. Sylla had carried as his questor into Greece, Lucullus, who,

[63] Plutarch. in Sylla, & Appian, c. 49.

[64] Appian, Plutarch, Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 24.

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powerful fleet. Olymp. clxxiii. 3. B. C. 86.

after conducting himself in that important office with equal ability and zeal, was commissioned to collect ships from Rhodes, Crete, Cyprus, Cyrené, and Egypt. His requisitions were complied with in most of those countries, as well as on the coasts of Lycia and Pamphylia; and though his expedition, undertaken during the winter season, was exposed also to much danger from the fleets of Mithridates and from pirates, yet he finally assembled so considerable an armament as enabled him to ride triumphant in the Ægæan.[65]

He refuses to co-operate with Fimbria, in a promising attempt to seize the person of Mithridates at Pitané.

Pergamus had, for more than two years, been the head-quarters of Mithridates. In this city he had made his arrangements for the disastrous expeditions into Greece; and from the same place he had sent forces to quell the insurrections that were breaking out in various parts of Asia; and which had multiplied in consequence of the cruel and treacherous methods which he employed to suppress them. The Chians, in particular, after being subjected to a mulct of 2000 talents, were perfidiously embarked, the men in one set of vessels, the women and children in another[66], to be transplanted from their fair island to a distant and gloomy district in Pontus. But a few armed ships belonging to Heraclæa on the Euxine, a city long connected in commercial alliance with Chios, met and attacked the king's transports, and carried them

[65] Plutarch. in Lucullo.

[66] Posidonius apud Athenæum. l. vi. p. 266.

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into their own harbour. The Chians were received by their friends in Heraclæa, with cordial kindness, and were sent back, well provided with necessaries, to their native island.[67] The many detachments from Pergamus much exhausted that garrison; a circumstance that escaped not the vigilance of Fimbria. Having defeated some of the king's forces in Bithynia, that officer hastened to attack him in his headquarters. Pergamus was surprised and taken; and Mithridates compelled to seek refuge in the neighbouring seaport of Pitané. At this crisis, Fimbria's messengers came to Lucullus, then in the harbour of Colophon in Ionia, imploring, in the name of Rome, that he would block up the common adversary by sea, while a Roman army besieged him by land. But Lucullus refused co-operation, preferring the interests of his party to those of his country; and the king, being thus enabled to escape to the island of Lesbos, soon afterwards rallied his forces in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont.[68]

Archelaus's treaty of peace with Sylla. Olymp. clxxiii. 3. B. C. 86.

But several months before this time, Mithridates, upon the discomfiture of his army at Orchomenos, in despair of success in Greece, had written to Archelaus to conclude peace with Sylla, on any terms; intending to ratify or annul the treaty according to future contingencies. At the request of Archelaus, Sylla granted to him an interview at Delium, on the

[67] Memnon apud Phot. c. 35.

[68] Plutarch. in Lucull. Auctor de Vir. Illust. in Fimbr. & Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxxiii.

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coast of Bœotia. Their negociation did not linger; for Sylla also wished to terminate the war, that he might return home, and punish his enemies in Italy, as he openly declared to be his purpose. He required, however, that Mithridates should evacuate his western conquests; renounce all claims on Bithynia and Cappadocia in favour of Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes, respectively; pay to the Romans 2000 talents, and surrender to them seventy of his best gallies; on the fulfilment of which articles, Sylla promised to use his influence with the senate, to have him declared the friend of Rome. After concluding this transaction, of which Mithridates was apprised with due diligence, Archelaus accompanied Sylla into Thessaly, and from thence into Macedon; and was every where treated by him with such marked attentions, as countenanced the suspicion of treachery to his king, on the part of this Pontic general.[69]

Ambassadors from the king — Sylla silences their cavils.

In their way to the Hellespont, they were met by ambassadors from Mithridates, refusing the surrender of the gallies, and making difficulties about certain districts in Paphlagonia, which the Romans regarded in the light of new conquests, but which the king affirmed to have descended to him from his ancestors. At the same time it was hinted, that, should the negociation fail, Mithridates would apply to Fimbria, from whom he had reason to expect more fa-

[69] Appian, Dion, & Plutarch. in Sylla.

vourable terms. At a name so odious, Sylla said, "Fimbria is a rebel who shall be punished presently; when I have passed into Asia I shall know, too, the intentions of your master, who, instead of cavilling with me about trifles, ought to thank me on his knees for leaving to him that right hand with which he signed the death-warrant, in one day, of 100,000 Romans." The sternness with which these words were uttered totally abashed the ambassadors; none of them had courage to reply: Archelaus only ventured to make intercession for the king and his ministers; and embracing Sylla's hands, entreated that he might be himself sent to Mithridates; since he had determined not to live, unless that prince accepted the peace which had been made for him. This request being granted, Sylla employed the interval of uncertainty concerning the king's real views, in chastising those Thracian tribes, who had recently betrayed their hostility, and who were ever ready to disturb the quiet of the Macedonian frontier.

Sylla chastises the Thracians.

From this military excursion, he had returned to Philippi, when Archelaus presented himself with a joyous countenance, to say that Mithridates was willing to ratify all that had been agreed on, and anxiously desired a conference. This change of mind was occasioned by the boldness of Fimbria's operations, of which Mithridates had not to fear the continuance, should Sylla pass the Hellespont. He crossed that strait between Sestus and Abydus, with four legions, in vessels furnished by Lucullus. About

Interview between Sylla and Mithridates in the Trojan plain.

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the same time, Mithridates, with above 20,000 men, arrived at Dardanus in Troas. There, the interview of the chiefs took place, each attended by a few friends, in an intermediate part of the plain, between the two armies. At meeting, Mithridates tendered to Sylla his hand. The Roman, rejecting his courtesy, asked whether he was ready to abide by the peace which had been stipulated. The king remained silent. Sylla desired him to proceed with what he had to say, "conquerors may be silent, when they will; the conquered must speak out and declare the substance of their petitions." Mithridates then entered into a long discourse, tending to show that the Romans were the aggressors, and that nothing short of the intolerable wrongs which he had suffered, could have induced him to take arms against such ancient and such respected allies. He also made mention of his hereditary friendship with Sylla. The latter replied, "that he had heard nothing of their hereditary friendship, until he had slain 160,000 of his soldiers, and stormed two of his camps, of which the Romans had made prize:" then enumerating his many enormities, wherefore, he said, would you defend or extenuate deeds of such infamy, for which, by means of Archelaus, you formerly begged pardon? Do you think that I, whom you feared at a distance, am come hither to debate with you about articles! The time for friendly discussion expired from the moment that we levied war to punish your crimes, and will continue to punish

them while the occasion requires it. Mithridates replied faintly, that he accepted the peace. Sylla then embraced him, and this ceremony was the sole ratification of a treaty involving the fate of so many provinces.[70] No written document, as will appear hereafter, existed on either side.

Articles of peace carried into execution —Archelaus suspected of treachery by Mithridates. Olymp. clxxiii. 4. B.C. 85.

When differences were thus settled, Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes, who attended in Sylla's camp, were sent for, and, being reconciled to Mithridates, had his consent to their peaceful re-establishment in their respective kingdoms. This, and the other articles of peace, were all carried into execution without farther difficulty; and Mithridates having surrendered seventy stout gallies, paid 2000 talents, and evacuated his western conquests, retired into Pontus, secretly accusing the treachery of Archelaus of all the disgrace that had befallen him.[71]

Fimbria deserted by his legions—he kills himself. Olymp. clxxiv. 1. B.C. 84.

During the conference at Dardanus, Fimbria encamped at Thyatira in Lydia. Sylla had no sooner adjusted matters with Mithridates than he marched thither. Fimbria's legions being on the point of deserting him, that profligate man endeavoured to save his own life by employing assassins against his adversary. But this execrable design being discovered, the danger which threatened their victorious and lavish general, provoked Sylla's troops into fury. They surrounded Fimbria's camp, loading him with

[70] Appian, de Bell. Mithrid. c. 56. et seq. Plutarch. in Sylla.
[71] Id. ibid.

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epithets of reproach. That officer appeared on the rampart, desiring to see Sylla, a favour which, with good reason, was denied him. But Rutilius, one of Sylla's lieutenants, advanced and told him, that if he chose to quit the Roman province of Asia, in which another was proconsul, a safe road would be open for him to the sea-coast. Fimbria replied, that he would find a better road for himself. He accordingly proceeded to Pergamus, and fell on his sword in the temple of Esculapius.[72]

Proceedings of Sylla in Lesser Asia, in Athens, and in Eubœa. Olymp. clxxiv. 2. B. C. 83.

His two legions took the military oath to Sylla; who, at the head of a resistless army, speedily settled to his mind the affairs of Lesser Asia. That country was punished for its defection by a fine of 20,000 talents, to be paid by forty-four districts into which it was now divided, to the end that their respective amercements might be proportioned to their several measures of delinquency.[73] Sylla, with his fleet and army, then sailed into Greece, and cast anchor in the Piræus. Athens was in ruins and desolation, in consequence of the obstinate resistance which it had made to him. He caused himself to be initiated, however, into its still venerated mysteries; ransacked the houses and effects of all who were found to have abetted the tyrant Aristio; and, on this occasion, made prize of the library of a certain Apellicon of Teios, containing the long unedited works of

[72] Auctor de Vir. Illust. in Fimbr. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxxiii.
[73] Cicero Orat. pro Flacco.

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Aristotle. Being at this time attacked by the gout, he passed over into Eubœa, and spent several weeks in that island for the benefit of the hot-baths at Ædepsus; amusing himself, during his recovery, with buffoons and sophists, and all persons that he could meet with of entertaining conversation or singular characters. He appeared indeed as perfectly at his ease, as if no important work had remained for him.

Sylla's wonderful successes against his own and the public enemies. Olymp. clxxiv. 3—clxxv. 3. B. C. 82—79.

Yet on his return to Italy, for which he now made preparations, he had to encounter with his six legions, somewhat reinforced in Greece and Macedon, fifteen generals, commanding collectively 225,000 men. His old enemy Marius had died of a pleurisy contracted by hard drinking; Cinna, a fit successor to that odious usurper, had perished in a military mutiny at Ancona, while he endeavoured to force his legions on ship-board, that they might carry the civil war into Thessaly. But the loss of these commanders was amply supplied by Norbanus, Scipio, Sertorius, Carbo, and the young Marius, each of whom was likely to maintain a desperate conflict, and whose combined weight must have overwhelmed any general less pre-eminent than Sylla either in courage or in craft. The historian of the civil wars has explained how he seduced some armies and vanquished others, and, in the space of two years, made himself master of Rome, of Italy, and of the Roman empire.[74] In punishing his personal enemies,

[74] Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. 1. c. 81. et seqq.

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and those of the aristocracy, which he called purging the state, he at first claimed no other title to power than the right of the sword. Afterwards the dictatorship was revived in his favour, a dignity that had lain dormant for one hundred and twenty years. It was conferred on him for an indefinite time; but, before the end of three years, he had finished the work which he had undertaken; of extinguishing popular sedition, re-establishing the just authority of the senate and comitia by centuries, and of enacting such salutary laws as seemed essential to the maintenance of a government founded on the natural prerogatives of wealth, abilities, and virtues. Having done all this, he procured Publius Servilius and Appius Claudius to be chosen consuls; and then appearing in the forum, made a public resignation of his dictatorship, declaring to the people, that if any citizen had matter of charge against him, he was ready to answer it. Having dismissed his twenty-four lictors, he continued to walk the streets accompanied by a few friends, and afterwards retired quietly to his villa near Cumæ. Of all men who have aimed at great and extraordinary designs, none was ever more fortunate in accomplishing them: he died peaceably, within a year after his retreat, victorious over all his enemies. The triumph which he inwardly enjoyed, at the review of his success, must, however, have been damped in proportion to the depth of his sagacity. The expedient of employing a military force to settle party dissensions, which in the vile example of

Circumstances which damped his triumph and tarnished his character.

the low illiterate Marius, was calculated only to produce hatred and disgust, was likely, from his own splendid achievement in re-establishing the commonwealth, to be construed into a precedent by more selfish sons of ambition. Yet, notwithstanding this great blemish in his public life, his name continued to be popular and respected, when his power was no longer formidable; and he is the first of the Romans whose obsequies, by universal consent, were celebrated with a magnificence of expense of which modern times cannot form an idea, since two hundred and ten loads of aromatics were consumed on his funeral pile.[75] From his contempt for dominion over a vast empire, from his perfect self-possession in moments of the greatest danger, from that lofty disdain of human affairs which made him despise even the fame of his own great actions, and ascribe them solely to the potency of Fortune, he might seem to have reached true magnanimity, if that noblest of the virtues were not totally incompatible with his deadly spirit of revenge.[76]

[75] Plutarch. in Syll. Conf. Plin. N. H. l. xii. c. 18.

[76] Appian. et Plutarch, ibid.

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Sufferings of Achaia and Asia. — Tigranes diverted from the Roman war. — Distracted State of Parthia. — Improvements in Armenia. — The Romans defeated in Cappadocia. — Mithridates's Thanksgivings for Victory. — Cappadocia invaded by Tigranes, and drained of its Inhabitants. — Bithynia bequeathed to the Romans. — The Bequest intercepted by Mithridates. — Lucullus takes the Field against him. — His glorious Campaigns, and more glorious Administration. — Tigranocerta taken. — Mithridates's Letter to the Parthian. — Sack of Nisibis. — Intrigues in Favour of Pompey. — He suppresses the Pirates. — His Success against Mithridates and Tigranes. — Nicopolis founded. — Syria reduced into a Province. — Transactions with the Parthians. — Meridian of Roman Greatness. — Proceedings of Pompey in Jerusalem. — Reflections thereon.

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Sufferings of Achaia and Asia, in the first Mithridatic war — increase of the pirates. Olymp. clxxiv. 1. B.C. 84.

In the course of the first Mithridatic war, which lasted scarcely five years, Achaia and Asia, the provinces implicated in the contest, suffered deeper wounds than had been inflicted on them during the long and obstinate struggles among Alexander's successors. The plunder of the richest temples of Achaia to pay Sylla's army, while the exchequer of Rome was in the hands of his enemies, and the imposition of a general

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fine of 20,000 talents[1] on the involuntary rebels in Asia, were tolerable grievances compared with the innumerable penalties imposed, on various places, at different times, by the king of Pontus and the Roman generals, as they happened alternately to prevail; above all, the licence granted to tax-gatherers, usurers, and greedy soldiers to prey on the property, and sport with the lives, of peaceful husbandmen and industrious citizens.[2] To fill up the measure of calamities in those two ill-fated provinces, the confederacy of pirates, of whose origin we formerly gave an account[3], made a rapid and alarming progress during relentless hostilities between the only powers qualified to repress them. Not contented with deforming the seas, they invaded Greece and the Greek colonies in Asia, desolated cities, plundered temples, and showed uncommon skill, as well as diligence, in occupying such harbours as were fittest for the purposes either of concealment or defence. Even during Sylla's short continuance in Lesser Asia, they obtained possession of Iassus, Samos, Clazomené, and Samothrace, after stripping a temple in the last-named place of 1000 talents. In the course of a few subsequent years, their strength amounted to 1200 well equipped gallies, and their strong-holds to the number of 400; while the island of Crete, and the creeks

[1] Equivalent to nearly 4,000,000*l.*

[2] Plutarch. in Sylla, & in Lucull. & Mithridat. Orat. ad Milites, apud Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 7.

[3] See above, c. xxv.

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in Cilicia, from Coracesium eastward, still continued to be the chief seats of their power, and main repositories of their plunder.[4]

Distracted state of Parthia—aggrandizement of Armenia. Olymp. clxxiii. 2—clxxv. 4. B. C. 87—77.

In commencing his war with Rome, Mithridates had promised himself a powerful and zealous ally in Tigranes, king of Armenia. But shortly before the former of these princes invaded the Roman provinces, Arsaces IX. of Parthia closed his long and successful career. He left no child behind him, and his kingdom was thrown into a civil war by the rivalship of his kinsmen Mnaskires and Senatrockes or Sinatruces[5], the former of whom boldly combated for a crown at the age of eighty-six, and having prevailed in the contest, held a turbulent reign for ten years longer, without totally suppressing his antagonist, who then became his successor.[6] This distracted state of the Parthian empire, altogether diverted Tigranes from the affairs of Lesser Asia, by opening to him new and great views for the extension and improvement of Armenia. He recovered undisturbed possession of some frontier districts, which had been claimed by Parthia, and complete sovereignty of the seventy valleys[7] which he had hitherto held as a sort of feudatory of that more powerful neighbour.

[4] Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 92. et seq. Conf. Plutarch. in Pompeio.

[5] Phlegon. apud Phot. Cod. xcvii. p. 265. Sinatruces is called Sintricus by Appian, (de Bell. Mithridat. c. 104.) Sanatruces by Suidas, Sinotraces by Dion, Sinotroces by Lucian, in Macrob. On medals we read Sinatrockes. Conf. Eckhel Doctrin. Num. Veter. & Vaillant. Arsacid. p. 78.

[6] Id. ibid.

[7] See above, C. xxv.

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Tigranes's proud magnificence.

Far beyond the dominion of his ancestors, he made conquest of various satrapies in both Medias, and in Atyria; and when any of his satraps or dependent kings, as they were called, became objects of his displeasure, he ordered them to Tigranocerta, and employed them in his court in mean personal services.[8] At the same time he afforded a safe asylum to many useful classes of men, whom the troubles in the Parthian empire drove from Upper Asia. By such means, the industry and opulence of Armenia made advances equally important and rapid. The cultivators of peaceful arts flocked from perturbed regions to scenes of quiet and safety; and Tigranes, to have carriers at hand to second the commerce of his people, attracted to him many tribes of Arabian nomades, who, when great profits were in view, feared not the most distant and hazardous journies.[9] Before the close of the first Mithridatic war, the fame of Tigranes had thus diffused itself through all the countries around him; insomuch, that only a few months after Sylla's return to Italy, and that of Mithridates to Pontus, when the Syrians, tired of unceasing dissensions among the Seleucidæ, determined to look out for more worthy and more powerful protection, all men cast their eyes on Tigranes. By this popular election, the king of Armenia became master of

[8] Plutarch. in Lucull.

[9] Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 67. et seq. Strabo, l. xi. p. 352. & l. xii. p. 559. & Plutarch. in Lucull.

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Syria[10]; from thence he made inroads into Cilicia and neighbouring provinces, carrying from them many of their Greek inhabitants to replenish the Armenian cities, particularly his new capital Tigranocerta[11]: and of several parts of Lesser Asia, as well as of all Syria, he kept possession for the space of fourteen years[12], till a new conflict between the Romans and Mithridates, in which Tigranes finally and most unseasonably took part, destroyed the former of these princes, and laid the latter at the mercy of the victorious commonwealth.

Rebellion in Colchis — murder of the younger Mithridates. Olymp. clxxiv. 3. B C. 82.

The disgrace which the king of Pontus incurred in his warfare with Sylla, was attended with such consequences as might have been expected in his hastily raised empire. Colchis and Bosporus were in arms; and the former kingdom demanded for its sovereign a son of the master from whom it had revolted. This son, named also Mithridates, had, unsuccessfully indeed, yet zealously served his father in combating Fimbria. The king therefore appeased the sedition by sending him to govern the Colchians; but soon afterwards the young Mithridates paid the sad forfeit of his popularity to the jealousy of the old.[13]

Archelaus persuades Muræna of the hos-

The disturbances in Bosporus required a fleet and army to quell them. While Mithridates made preparations against this small but indus-

[10] Appian. de Reb. Syriac. c. 48. et seq.
[11] Id. Mithridat. c. 67.
[12] Justin, l. xl. c. 2. He says eighteen years, erroneously.
[13] Appian. Mithridat. c. 64.

trious and opulent state, Archelaus, his unfortunate and disgraced general, seized an opportunity of effecting his escape to Muræna, who had been left by Sylla proconsul in Pergamus. Muræna, in common with all his countrymen in military power, panted for the honours of a triumph, and was easily persuaded by the Pontic fugitive that the forces, pretended to be levied against Bosporus, were destined really against the Asiatic dominions of Rome. Archelaus also apprised him, that Mithridates, under frivolous pretences, still retained garrisons in certain districts of Cappadocia. Upon this intelligence, Muræna took the field with a small but well appointed army, passed through Phrygia, which had long been annexed to the Roman province of Asia; and traversing Cappadocia, expelled the hostile garrisons from that kingdom.[14] He then entered Pontus, and having crossed mount Paryadres, surprised Comana, a city distant only a few miles from the mountain, and long distinguished by its superstition and its opulence, its fairs and its festivals.[15] When Mithridates heard of this unexpected invasion, he sent ambassadors to Muræna with complaints. But these ambassadors had been chosen with little judgment. They were as usual, Greeks, but persons little satisfied with their master, and who therefore were at no pains to promote his views, or even to justify his proceedings. They remonstrated, however, against the infraction of the

Hostile designs of the king of Pontus.

Fruitless embassy of that king to the Roman general.

Olymp. clxxiv. 3. B. C. 82.

[14] Appian. Mithridat. c. 64—66.

[15] Strabo, l. xii. p. 555.

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recent treaty with Sylla, and appealed to that treaty for proving Mithridates to have been entitled, before war was levied on him, to all the consideration and forbearance due to a Roman ally. But Muræna denied, with truth, that he had ever seen any such treaty; for, in the king's hasty negociation with Sylla, no written document vouching the articles of peace, had been required on either side. [16]

The district Paryadres — its distinctions.

Having thus dismissed the ambassadors, Muræna resumed his operations, and ravaged the rich districts on both sides mount Paryadres, though it does not appear that he made himself master of any of the strong-holds on the mountain itself, where Mithridates kept his treasures; nor that he ventured to attack Cabira, near its southern roots, where the king had a park and a palace, and also some valuable mines, we know not of what metal. Here too (the modern reader will smile at the information) Mithridates had erected a water-mill, moved by one of the many streams that form the eastern sources of the Halys. [17] But this seemed to antiquity a circumstance deserving of notice, since mills wrought by the power either of wind or water, were, of old, objects of great rarity. To grind corn by the aid of horses or oxen was then the prevailing fashion; slaves were also frequently employed in that severe labour; and the ordinary punishment of a worthless slave was com-

[16] Appian. c. 64.

[17] Strabo, l. xii. p. 556.

pulsion to ply his hand-mill[18] to the utmost measure of his strength, and often beyond it. After his two incursions into Pontus, Muræna, opposed only by a party of horse, which he cut off near Comana, returned into Phrygia loaded with booty.

Mithridates defeats the Romans in Cappadocia — a remnant of the vanquished escapes into Phrygia. Olymp. clxxiv. 3. B. C. 82.

Meanwhile, Mithridates having sent complaints to Rome of the first injury that had been done to him, a deputy arrived from the senate to examine matters on the spot. Callidius, entrusted with this commission, met Muræna in Phrygia, and there told him publicly that he must cease from hostilities. But, after a private interview between them, Muræna repassed the Halys, and having renewed his ravages in Pontus, reduced Mithridates to the necessity of repelling force by force. His old friend Gordius was first in the field, commanding the vanguard. The king followed in person. Muræna retreated precipitately into Cappadocia. Mithridates pursued him closely, forced him to a battle, and completely discomfited him. The greater part of the Romans was cut off; Muræna, with a feeble remnant, escaped by the mountains into Phrygia[19]: and Mithridates thus regained those districts of Cappadocia which had recently been wrested from him.

Mithridates's thanksgiv-

To celebrate his victory over enemies that had wantonly provoked his arms, the king of

[18] Servorum nequam in pistrinum dedi dicebantur. Senec. de Benefic. l. iv. c. 37. Plautus, & Terent. passim.

[19] Appian. c. 65.

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ing for victory — its fashion.

Pontus performed a sacrifice of thanks after the most solemn fashion of the great monarchs of Persia, from whom he claimed his descent. These princes were accustomed to sacrifice on the tops of the highest mountains, that the fiery symbols of their religious gratitude might embrace the whole circle of the heavens.[20] In constructing the sacred pyre, the king with his own hands laid the foundation. The fabric rose from a broad base in regular stories of wood, gradually contracting as they reached the summit.[1] The recesses or terraces thus formed on its sides, contained offerings of milk and honey, of wine and oil, and a rich variety of aromatics. On the lowest story, a copious banquet was provided for all present, and in which all present thought it their duty with thankfulness to partake. Such was the custom when the Great King sacrificed in Pasagarda.[21] But the lofty altar of Mithridates should seem to have been reared on mount Argæus, the highest in Cappadocia; from which travellers are said to behold at once the Euxine and Mediterranean.[22]

Mithridates's peace with the Romans — the carousals with which he celebrated it.

Shortly after this ceremony, and while Mithridates still continued in Cappadocia, Gabinius appeared as commissioner from Rome, or rather from Sylla, then absolute master of the commonwealth. Gabinius commanded Muræna to make peace in good earnest, and faithfully to

[20] This circle, Herodotus says, they considered and called god. l. i. c. 131.

[1] Appian, c. 66. Conf. Strabo, l. xv. p. 732.

[22] Strabo, l. xii. p. 538.

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maintain it. He then proceeded to the kings of Pontus and Cappadocia, to promote reconciliation between them. Through the interposition of a man, bearing the authority of Sylla, the whole business was speedily adjusted. Mithridates retained some districts in Cappadocia, to which he produced plausible titles, but gave one of his sons, a child four years old, as hostage to Ariobarzanes, that no farther encroachments should be made on him. To solemnise this peace, he held public carousals, at which he distributed rich prizes to those who quaffed the largest goblets, or sang the most impassioned songs. The skilful in repartee and buffoonery did not pass unrewarded. The Roman commissioner alone refused to take part in this indecent scene of intemperance and uproar. [23]

Olymp. clxxv. 2. B. C. 79.

Having settled his differences in Lesser Asia, Mithridates was at leisure to attend his concerns on the remote northern shores of the Euxine. There, on his way to Bosporus, he had to punish the brutish and bloody Achæi and Heniochi [24], and did not reduce their mountainous haunts without losing great part of his army through the severity of the climate, co-operating with the fierceness and craft of those irreclaimable [25] barbarians. We know not what opposition he encountered in Bosporus; but at leaving that peninsula, he established in it as king, or rather

Appoints his son Machares viceroy of Bosporus.

[23] Plutarch. in Sylla. Memnon apud Phot. c. 38. Appian. c. 66, 67. Conf. Cicero pro Muræna.

[24] Appian. c. 102.

[25] Aristot. Politic. l. viii. c. 4.

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viceroy, one of his own sons named Machares[25], now the object of his affection, and shortly afterwards the victim of his vengeance.

Mithridates mortified in his attempt to obtain the ratification of peace in writing. Olymp. clxxvi. 1. B. C. 76.

This remote warfare did not divert his attention from the more important affairs of the West. None of his transactions with Rome had yet been recorded; they rested merely on oral testimony; and while this continued to be the case, Mithridates saw that he would lie at the mercy of every ambitious proconsul whom the Romans sent into Asia. Though historians, therefore, have considered the campaigns of Muræna, and the cessation of hostilities on the part of that general, as a distinct subject, forming what is called the second Mithridatic war, yet those expeditions seem not to have been viewed in the same light by the king of Pontus. He considered the work of peace as still unfinished, until the conditions of it should be formally confirmed at Rome, and transmitted to him duly authenticated in writing. For this purpose, his ambassadors were dispatched to the senate; but, as Sylla died before their arrival, the various applications made by them were treated with neglect, and they returned, bringing to their master, instead of secure peace and the honourable title of "friend to the Roman people," nothing but such mortification and disgrace, as, by a mind far tamer than his, could not have been brooked with patience.[26]

[25] Appian. c. 67.

[26] Appian. Mithridat. c. 67.

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He set himself, therefore, with the utmost diligence, to recruit his army and replenish his magazines. While engaged in such preparations, he again applied to his son-in-law Tigranes, then in the height of his prosperity. The treaty between these princes had, for reasons above mentioned, produced no other effect than the depopulation of some districts in Cappadocia. In that kingdom, so closely allied with them, the Romans were most vulnerable. At the instigation of his father-in-law, Tigranes passed the Euphrates with a great army; and, without deigning to employ any pretence for justifying his invasion, began to ravage Cappadocia, and to make spoil of its inhabitants. As persons rather than property was his object, he beset the whole country with armed men, and hunted, as it were, the flying Cappadocians into his toils. Three hundred thousand of them are said to have been carried with him into Armenia.[27]

Tigranes invades Cappadocia, and transplants its inhabitants. Olymp. clxxvi. 1. B. C. 76.

Before the Romans were ready to revenge this injury, for their vassal, Ariobarzanes thought himself fortunate in eluding the grasp of the invader, Nicomedes III. of Bithynia died, in the seventeenth year of his reign, bequeathing to them that kingdom. This destination seemed to Nicomedes the surest expedient for saving the Bithynians from similar evils to those which had just fallen on their neighbours the Cappa-

Bithynia bequeathed by Nicomedes III. to the Romans—Mithridates intercepts this gift. Olymp. clxxvi. 2. B. C. 75.

[27] Appian. Mithridat. c. 67. Conf. Strabo, l. xi. p. 532. & l. xii. p. 539.

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docians. But the event did not correspond to his views; for Mithridates was no sooner apprised of his death and testament, than he marched an army into Bithynia, which overran and reduced the whole country. Immediately before striking this blow, he had assembled his forces in Paphlagonia, and addressed them in a long and animated oration, expatiating on his own wrongs and the boundless rapacity of the Romans, aggravated by intolerable arrogance. Of that nation he had two persons of great distinction in his camp; Lucius Magius and Lucius Fannius, who, after the wreck of Fimbria's fortunes to which they had been devoted, rather than serve under his adversary Sylla, had taken refuge with the public enemy. Mithridates received them with open arms, treated them with great respect, and having sent them on an embassy into Spain, concluded an alliance with Sertorius, who, through his extraordinary influence over the native Spaniards, had upheld the Marian faction for five years against Aufidius, Metellus, and Pompey; and continued to defend it three years longer, till he was treacherously slain at Osca, near the roots of the Pyrenees, by his own lieutenant Perperna.[29] According to the treaty between Mithridates and Sertorius, the former sent to the latter 3000 talents and forty gallies; the latter in return sent to the king of Pontus, Marcus Varius, formerly a Roman senator, and now vested with

Mithridates's treaty with Sertorius, who still upheld the Marian faction in Spain.

Advantages gained by it on either side.

[29] Plutarch. in Sertor. Sallust. Fragm. Histor. l. iii. c. 15.

proconsular authority by a senate which Sertorius had raised up in his own camp in Spain, to oppose the designs and measures of Rome. Varius was accompanied or followed by several officers and soldiers, well qualified to assist Mithridates in a plan, which shortly before this time he had adopted, for arming and disciplining a great proportion of his troops on the legionary model.

These advantages explained by Mithridates to his army.

In his discourse to his soldiers, the king of Pontus enlarged on the benefit to be expected from this Spanish alliance. The Romans, he said, would be attacked at once from the West and the East; the seas, it was well known, had long been unsafe for them; and the city of Rome, which had grown large and populous by a perpetual series of crimes, was already suffering from scarcity, and would soon sink under the pressure of famine. The time was at hand to take vengeance on those plunderers of nations and of kings; they are now divided among themselves; the best and bravest of them (pointing to Varius and the two Lucii) renouncing a country unworthy of their virtues, have come hither to assist our councils and to share the glory of our arms.[30]

The consuls Lucullus and Cotta sent against him. Olymp. clxxvi. 2. B.C. 75.

Meanwhile the Romans raised to the consulship Licinius Lucullus, the same person who had co-operated so ably with Sylla in the offices of questor and admiral. His colleague was Aurelius Cotta; the war with Mithridates was

[30] Appian. Mithridat. c. 69-71.

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destined to both. It was intended that Lucullus should carry with him such reinforcements from Italy, as being joined by the troops in the Roman province of Asia, would raise his army to 30,000 infantry and 3000 horse. Cotta preceded with a smaller army indeed, but accompanied with an admiral named Nudus, commanding a powerful fleet, the object peculiarly enjoined to him being the recovery of the maritime province of Bithynia. Cotta was a vain-glorious man, of abilities inadequate to his pretensions. Flattered with the prospect of combating the king of Pontus before Lucullus's arrival, whose levies had been retarded by factious tribunes, and of thus appropriating exclusively the honours of a triumph, he wantonly exposed himself to bloody defeats both by sea and land, and then shut himself up with his admiral Nudus in Chalcedon, a strong city opposite to Byzantium. A bar, consisting of chains of iron, which had been thrown across the harbour of Chalcedon, was burst through; Mithridates burnt four, and captured sixty gallies. [31]

Cotta defeated by sea and land at Chalcedon. Olymp. clxxvi. 3. B. C. 74.

Lucullus was informed of these disasters in his camp on the river Sangarius in Phrygia, towards which he had advanced, after employing proper means for remedying great evils in the ill-affected province of Asia. Through the cruelty of tax-gatherers and iniquity of judges, many places in that province were so totally

Lucullus in Lesser Asia—his useful exertions there.

[31] Appian. c. 71. Plutarch. in Lucull.

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alienated from Rome, that upon Mithridates's invasion of Bithynia, they seemed ready to throw themselves once more into his arms. Disturbances had actually broken out in several districts; the proconsul Junius was unseasonably absent; and the insurrection would have become dangerous but for the following accident. It happened shortly before this period, that Julius Cæsar, having unsuccessfully arraigned Dolabella for malversation in his government of Macedon, sailed for the isle of Rhodes in his twenty-third year, to receive the instructions of Apollonius, a celebrated master in rhetoric. His ship was captured by pirates, and carried into Pharmacusa, a small island near the coast of Miletus. There, he remained in captivity with his physician and two attendants, until other persons belonging to his retinue should raise fifty talents demanded for his ransom. The money was raised, probably at Miletus; and Cæsar, being set at liberty, sailed into the harbour of that city. Upon landing, he informed the Milesians of the presumptuous security of the pirates, and how easy it would be to surprise them. By the help of a very small proportion of the vessels then in the harbour, he offered to make the attempt next night, and to be answerable for the consequences. His proposal was accepted; the enterprise succeeded [32]; and the pirates, who had carried him to Pharmacusa, were now in their

First memorable public service of Julius Cæsar. Olymp. clxxvi. 3. B.C. 74.

[32] Sueton. in J. Cæsar, c. 4. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 41. Conf. Plutarch. in Lucull.

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turn carried by him to Miletus, and from thence forwarded to Pergamus. It seems that Cæsar, while in their custody, had often threatened them in that coarse raillery with which they were familiar, that, if ever he laid hands on them at any future time, he would certainly crucify them. Without waiting the orders of the proconsul, who was then in Bithynia, he determined to carry this threat into execution; though, in the adulatory language of historians, "with the humanity that always characterised him," he first cut their throats, before he affixed their bodies to the cross.[35] Having thus punished the pirates, he pursued his destined voyage to Rhodes, but had not remained long in that island, when he learned Mithridates's invasion of Bithynia, and the growing defections in Asia. This intelligence made him hasten thither, with an intention of marching against the insurgents, at the head of such provincials as he could prevail on to follow him. In his spontaneous exertions for the public service he strenuously persevered until Lucullus crossed the Hellespont vested with consular authority, and at the head of a great army. Yet equity, not arms, was the expedient to which this respectable commander had recourse for settling the discontents in Asia. He restrained abuses on the part of publicans and other Romans, and corrected their unjust proceedings against unhappy Asiatics, long exposed to their unchal-

[35] Sueton. in J. Cæsar, c. 74.

lenged peculations. The evils which he could not cure, he was studious to mitigate; giving assurances that, after reducing foreign enemies to submission, he would spare no pains to root out every domestic mischief from the province.[34] CHAP. XXVII.

Upon the news of his colleague's presumption and consequent disasters, Lucullus summoned a council. His principal officers were of opinion that the unfortunate Cotta ought to pay the forfeit of his folly, and to endure the evils of a siege in Chalcedon. Archelaus, Mithridates's revolted general, strongly abetted this advice, and exhorted Lucullus, without loss of time, to march forward into Pontus, where the enemy was most vulnerable. Lucullus dissented from the general opinion. He would not fly, he said, from the wild beast, to take possession of his lair; and to save the life of a single Roman, he declared to be, in his mind, a better service, than the acquisition of all the wealth in Pontus.[35] He therefore gave orders for proceeding with due speed to the relief of his colleague in Chalcedon. Lucullus's generous resolution in favour of Cotta.

By this time Mithridates had assembled a mighty host, that, after gaining the strong cities of Chalcedon on the Bosporus, and Cyzicus in an island of the Propontis, he might proceed southward and overwhelm the Roman province of Asia. His gallies were 400; he had large bodies of horse; and his infantry is computed Views of Mithridates — his vast army.

[34] Plutarch. in J. Cæsar, c. 74. [35] Id. ibid.

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at 150,000 fighting men: their attendants, under the two general descriptions of servants and traders, far exceeded that number.[36] The Romans, however, having that full proportion of force, with which they had often triumphed over countless armies, eagerly demanded battle. The general restrained their ardour, because, from the intelligence which he received of the state of the enemy's provisions from different straggling parties that happened to fall into his hands, he conjectured that, notwithstanding the supplies received by sea, so prodigious a host could not remain long in the narrow northern corner of the Peninsula. His conclusion was justified by the event.[37] Mithridates moved from the neighbourhood of the Bosporus, and fixed his camp at Adrastia, on the southern shore of the Propontis, directly opposite to the isle of Cyzicus.[38]

Lucullus follows and outwits him. Olymp. clxxvi. 3. B. C. 74.

Lucullus followed him at a due distance; and, by a singular piece of good fortune, was enabled to occupy a post, near a village called Thraceia, most conveniently situate for distressing the enemy's camp. Lucius Magius, with the perfidy natural to deserters, found means of secretly communicating with Lucullus, and of receiving his instructions; in consequence of which, he persuaded Mithridates that it was unnecessary to guard the defiles leading to Thraceia, or to hinder Lucullus

[36] Τριακοντα μυριαδας. Appian. c. 72.

[37] Appian. Mithridat. c. 79—c. 72. Conf. Plutarch. in Lucull.

[38] Strabo, l. xii. p. 575.

from fortifying that post in his neighbourhood. "The nearer he approached, the more the king's affairs would be benefited; because the Fimbrian legions, composing the flower of the Roman army, would thereby find the greater facility in effecting their intended revolt." The mutinous spirit of these legions, not less notorious than their courage had been conspicuous, procured credit to the false imputation; and Lucullus thus possessed himself of a ground which, while his enemies besieged Cyzicus, was well fitted to intercept all supplies from the great continent behind them. Though the superiority of Mithridates's force might have encouraged him to break through the hostile lines; yet he waited, day after day, in expectation of seeing the revolt of the Fimbrian legions, and, when this hope failed him, he determined to prosecute, with the utmost vigour, the siege of Cyzicus, which contained vast stores of corn. [39]

Obliges him to raise the siege of Cyzicus.

But, besides a granary of corn, this respectable commonwealth had two other magazines, one of arms, and another of military engines. [40] Detachments of its warlike citizens had perished indeed in the double defeat of Cotta; but the great body of the people was animated with zeal in the cause of Rome, or rather of their own independence. They resisted, therefore, one of the greatest armies ever brought into the

[39] Appian. & Plutarch.

[40] Strabo, l. xii. p. 575.

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field, and all the abilities of Mithridates seconded by skilful engineers and indefatigable artizans. Lucullus found means of communicating with the besieged, and intimating to them the great advantages which he continued to gain over the foraging parties of the enemy. These advices kept up their spirits, and encouraged them to hold out until the approach of winter, when the Euxine ceased to be safely navigable by victuallers. Mithridates being thus cut off from all regular supplies by sea as well as land, was reduced to the necessity of raising the siege. His vast army, weakened by disease, the consequence of scarcity or unwholesome diet, dissolved into still formidable masses, which pursued different directions. A numerous body, which marched westward towards the Hellespont, was destroyed by Lucullus, as it attempted to pass the Æsepus or Granicus, rivers twelve miles asunder, and both of them then swoln by heavy rains. The king, it is remarkable, preferred the dangers of the sea to an encounter with the enemy; probably on account of the mountainous district of Olympus, which lay in his way by land, and on which he must have fought the Romans on ground unfavourable to cavalry. He sailed at first towards the Hellespont, where the superiority of his fleet had given to him Parium, Lampsacus, and other sea-ports, for allies. He then divided his armament, and leaving fifty ships with 10,000 men on board, to maintain his in-

terest in that quarter, he proceeded with the far greater part on his voyage to Pontus.[41]

Captures at Chrysé 50 of his ships with 10,000 men.

The flight of Mithridates was no sooner known to the maritime cities of Asia, than they brought to Lucullus such reinforcements as enabled him to overpower the squadron of fifty sail left behind by the enemy. This squadron had three commanders; Varius, the Roman senator, of whom we have before made mention; Alexander, a Paphlagonian; and Dionysius, an eunuch. They were all three captured by Lucullus, in the small island Chrysé, then an appendage to Lemnos, but since that time buried in the sea.[42] The eunuch drank poison; Lucullus ordered the death of the Roman; he reserved the Paphlagonian for his triumph.[43]

Dreadful calamity of Mithridates's fleet in the Euxine.

The misfortunes hitherto attending the king's arms were succeeded by a greater calamity, and one without remedy. His fleet which he had raised with so much expense and industry, presumed to navigate the Euxine at a season when the reports of the moderns concur with those of the ancients in representing this sea as highly dangerous. It was assailed by a sudden tempest which raged many days without intermission: sixty ships were sunk, with 10,000 men on board; the rest were scattered and tossed among widely separate shores, which, at different intervals of time, they deformed with

[41] Appian. Mithridat. c. 72. et seq. Plutarch. in Lucull.
[42] Pausanias, l. viii. c. 33. [43] Appian. c. 76.

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their wrecks. The king was saved in a brigantine[44]; and landed first at Sinopé, the principal harbour in Paphlagonia, and then at Amisus, the principal harbour in Pontus.

His measures thereon.

Having witnessed at these places the dreadful extent of his disaster, he adopted, however, the best means in his power for yet withstanding the enemy. He wrote for assistance to his son Machares, viceroy in Bosporus, and to his son-in-law, Tigranes, king of Armenia. He sent emissaries, with large sums of money, to allure the independent Scythians beyond Bosporus to his standard. In person he marched southward from Amisus, through the beautiful plain Phanaræa; from whence remounting towards the source of the Iris, he crossed the lofty chain of Paryadres to his favourite stronghold Cabira.[45] In this mountainous, and midland district, Mithridates had many fortified castles, containing his treasures, by a proper employment of which he expected, in the course of the winter, to be able again to collect a great army.

Lucullus marches into Pontus — extraordinary plenty of that country.

Meanwhile Lucullus, after enjoying *heroic* honours[46] at Cyzicus, prepared to march through Bithynia into Pontus. On the common frontier of those kingdoms he found but a precarious supply of provisions, but when he advanced into the heart of the latter, food, clothing, and every necessary of life was to be procured in

[44] Appian. c. 78. [45] Strabo, l. xii. p. 556.

[46] The saviours of cities were rewarded with the same honours as their founders. Diodorus, l. xx. s. 102.

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the greatest abundance, and at the lowest price.[47] The territory was naturally plentiful, and had been enriched by the culture of ages without being once foraged by an enemy. This virgin country was now left unguarded, at the mercy of Lucullus; most of the cities readily entered into composition with him; and, much to the regret of his soldiers, thus escaped depredation. Three places, however, were distinguished by vigour of resistance; Sinopé and Amisus, on the sea coast, and Thermiscyra, on the banks of the Thermodon. These sieges occupied the remainder of winter, without overcoming the obstinacy of Sinopé and Amisus. But a new city, contiguous to Amisus, which Mithridates had called Eupatoria[48], from his own surname, desired leave to capitulate.

Olymp. clxxvi. 4. B. C. 73.

Eupatoria capitulates.

Early in the spring, Lucullus prepared to pass over the heights of Paryadres, in order to offer battle to Mithridates, who, he was informed, had collected at Cabira an army 44,000 strong. Signals by fire announced to the king the approach of his enemy, but as the flower of his own troops consisted in cavalry, he anxiously

Operations in Pontus — Mithridates's cavalry uniformly successful.

Olymp. clxxvii. 1. B. C. 72.

[47] A slave cost four drachmas; an ox one; goats, sheep, clothing, &c. were cheap in proportion. Appian. c. 78. These prices, perhaps, indicate the rates at which soldiers sold their booty, of which the great quantity suddenly acquired, rendered it of little value.

[48] This Eupatoria must be distinguished from another city of the same name, fifteen miles from the sea, on the conflux of the Iris and Lycus, and nearly midway between the coast and Amasia, the birth-place of the geographer Strabo, on the conflux of the Iris and Scylax. Of the inland Eupatoria we shall afterwards have occasion to speak.

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waited for the descent of Lucullus into the plain. The Roman general at length descended with much precaution; various skirmishes happened between advanced parties, in all of which the cavalry of Mithridates maintained a decided superiority: as often as the Romans were attacked by the enemy's horse, they had no means of safety, but by returning to the mountains. They thus found it impossible to keep open a communication with Cappadocia, from which country they expected to derive the greater part of their supplies; and were on the point of being reduced to distress similar to that which Mithridates had suffered at Cyzicus. But, from a situation fraught with danger, not unmixed with disgrace, they at length obtained an opportunity of extricating themselves through the impatience and rashness of the enemy. Flushed with repeated and signal success, the Asiatics gave way to that blind presumption which is congenial to their character; and instead of persevering in the same plan of campaign, of which they had experienced the advantage, they passed the mountains in great force, and coming to action in an intricate and narrow valley, where cavalry was unserviceable, they suffered a total defeat. Neither the king nor Lucullus were present in the engagement; but the former first learned its event, and determined instantly to move his camp, lest the severe blow which he had received, should be followed by one still more decisive. His favourites and courtiers, who penetrated this intention before general

Presumption of the Asiatics thereon — their rout and flight of the king into Armenia. Olymp. clxxvii. 2. B.C. 71.

orders were issued, began to avail themselves of the discovery. 'Their servants and waggons, conveying those troublesome and operose luxuries, which usually encumber Asiatic armies, crowded the gates of the camp. At this sight, the soldiers took the alarm, imagining themselves yet ignorant of the worst that had happened; the camp was in commotion; the gates became the scene of uproar and bloodshed; all were in haste to depart without waiting the king's orders: and when Mithridates started from his pavilion on horseback, to quell the tumult, he was obstructed by the throng and dismounted. In this humiliating condition he was hurried along in the crowd: at length, being recognised and rescued, he was seated on a new horse, and enabled to clear the eastern descents of mount Paryadres. From thence he hastened northward, accompanied by a small body of cavalry, and remounting towards the sources of the Euphrates, concealed his flight and his disgrace amidst the intricate and almost inaccessible valleys of Armenia.[49]

How he escaped his pursuers.

Of this confusion in the enemy's camp, the Romans had not been slow to avail themselves. They attacked, destroyed, or dispersed all those still employed in collecting or transporting the baggage; but the rich spoils which the barbarians left behind them, arrested the pursuit, and made the rout less bloody than it might otherwise have been rendered. Mithridates, at

[49] Appian. Mithridat. c. 81. et seq.

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a critical moment, is said to have owed his safety to a mule laden with treasure. The sacks burst, and displayed a resistless temptation to some Roman horsemen, who were in full view of the flying king: by which accident or contrivance, for whether of the two is uncertain, he eluded his pursuers. [50]

Incidents in Pontus. Olymp. clxxvii. 3. B. C. 70.

Lucullus entered Cabira, and gave orders for summoning the strong castles in its neighbourhood, containing treasures or state prisoners. The whole dominions of Mithridates now lay at his devotion, and nothing remained in order to complete his triumph, but to make himself master of the king's person. With this view he directed his march according to the best advices which he had received, towards the south-eastern corner of the Euxine, through the country so graphically described by Xenophon, in his retreat of the ten thousand. [51] At Pharnacia, formerly Cerasus, he learned that Mithridates had sent orders for the death of his wives and female relations, inhabiting a castle in that neighbourhood; that some had hanged themselves, and that others had drank poison, or presented their bosoms to the dagger. [52] Grieved at this news, he proceeded to the district of the Taulantii, from whom he understood that the king, in his flight, having kept to the eastward of his pursuers, had escaped four days before into Armenia, with an intention, as Lu-

[50] Plutarch. in Lucull.

[51] See History of Ancient Greece, Part I. c. xxvi.

[52] Plutarch. & Appian. c. 82.

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cullus had no doubt, of soliciting assistance from his son-in-law, Tigranes. Here, therefore, the Roman paused: Armenia was a powerful kingdom; its sovereign had wonderfully prospered in all his undertakings; the dominions from the Euphrates to the Grecian sea were amply sufficient to gratify the ambition of Rome and her general. More anxious to consolidate than extend his conquests, Lucullus contented himself with sending an embassy to Tigranes, demanding the person of the king of Pontus. This mission was entrusted to Appius Claudius, a young patrician, who was afterwards consul and censor.

Appius Claudius sent ambassador to Tigranes.

Meanwhile Lucullus received the submissions of the Chalybians and neighbouring tribes on the Euxine, all of them wandering emigrants from mount Caucasus. He then returned westward along the coast; where the Greek seaports, Amisus and Sinopé, still distinguished themselves by an obstinate resistance, the former defended by Callimachus, the ablest engineer of his age, and the latter reinforced by pirates, in the interest of the king of Pontus. Callimachus, by setting fire to Amisus, endeavoured to disappoint the Romans of their booty[53]; the pirates, when no longer able to hold out, betook themselves to their armed brigantines, and left the Sinopians at the mercy of the conqueror. Lucullus treated both places with a lenity as honourable to himself as it was

Treatment of the Greek cities in Pontus — Sinopé, Amisus, Heraclæa.

[53] Plutarch. in Lucull.

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offensive to his greedy followers; reinstating the prostrate citizens in their possessions, and confirming them in the enjoyment of their free governments and equal laws, which, though often overwhelmed by the Persian and Pontic kings, had never ceased to be dear to them. The fate of Heraclæa Pontica formed a contrast with that of Sinopé and Amisus. Its siege had been carried on twelve months, by Cotta and Triarius, successively; and its capture was attended with the plundering of its temples, the burning of the city, and the massacre of most of its inhabitants.[54]

Lucullus's wise financial regulations in Lesser Asia. Olymp. clxxvii. 3. B. C. 70.

In the progress of Lucullus westward, Ariobarzanes was firmly established in the dependant kingdom of Cappadocia, while Bithynia, according to the will of its late sovereign, was completely reduced into the form of a Roman province. But the longest and most meritorious labour of this able statesman as well as general, was to remove the deep and complicated grievances under which the Roman subjects had long laboured in Lower Asia, that is, the kingdom of Pergamus and its appendages. Among the regulations which endeared him to the inhabitants of this invaluable and long oppressed country, was his rescuing them from the gripe of tax-gatherers and usurers. He appointed all contributions to be raised from income, not from property; and to render them in some measure optional, he made their proportion to

[54] Memnon apud Phot. p. 745—747.

depend on the magnitude of houses, and the multitude of slaves or servants.[55]

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Appius Claudius reports to Lucullus the incidents and issue of his embassy. Olymp. clxxvii. 4. B. C. 69.

Lucullus had finished this useful work, before his ambassador Appius returned from Tigranes. Appius, it seems, upon entering Armenia, had been furnished with guides by order of the court. These men, whether to magnify their master's power by displaying the vast extent of his dominions, or to accomplish some unwarrantable design which they entertained against Appius and his attendants, conducted them by very circuitous roads towards the imperial residence of Tigranocerta, but carried them altogether wide of the king, who was actually at Antioch, in Syria. Upon discovering this treachery, Appius dismissed those royal guides, as they were called, and trusted to a Syrian in his suite, who led him by the nearest way to the once renowned capital of the Seleucidæ, now a secondary city belonging to an upstart king of Armenia. Before returning into the proper road, from which he had so widely roved, Appius had an opportunity of hearing the complaints of many tributary princes and nations, neighbours and enemies to the Armenians: the king of Corduené, a district among the mountains east of Tigranocerta, entered into an alliance with Rome; and the Greek cities in Syria expressed the warmest desire of throwing off the yoke of the Armenians, who had begun to exercise over them the odious prerogatives

[55] Appian. Mithridat. c. 83. Conf. Plutarch. in Lucull.

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of injustice and cruelty, uniformly claimed by every dominant nation in Asia. The rotten state of Tigranes's affairs might have encouraged Appius to execute his commission with boldness, had he been less eminently endowed with that quality. He found the king of kings, as he affected to be called, just returned to Antioch, after subduing a rebellion in Phœnicia. He was surrounded by dispossessed monarchs, who served him in the lowest offices. A pair of dethroned princes attended him on each side when he mounted on horseback; and strings of kings or satraps, on days of public audience, appeared in the presence-hall, their hands interlaced with each other in token of the most abject servitude. Amidst this tyrannic pomp, calculated to overawe cowards, but to provoke brave men to anger, young Appius was introduced: he had come, he said, to demand the person of Mithridates, due to the triumph of Lucullus; in case of refusal he denounced a just war, since the protectors of criminals ought to share their punishment. Tigranes ill-disguised the agony of wounded pride under a forced smile of contempt; answering, that he would not surrender Mithridates, and, if the Romans committed any act of hostility, they should be made to repent their presumption. Notwithstanding this defiance, he sent to Appius, at his departure, the customary presents. The Roman, that he might avoid giving personal offence, and at the same time testify his disdain of the king's wealth, accepted a

single cup or goblet, and hastened back to Lucullus to acquaint him with the incidents and issue of his embassy.[56]

Lucullus's march towards Tigranocerta to demand the person of Mithridates. Olymp. clxxvii. 4. B.C. 69.

Upon learning the refusal of Tigranes to his requisition, Lucullus, who by this time had returned to Sinopé, determined to demand the person of his vanquished adversary by an armed force before the walls of Tigranocerta. With a view to this undertaking, he had contracted an alliance with Machares, king or viceroy of Bosporus on the opposite side of the Euxine. The treachery of this favourite son of Mithridates thus seemed to cut off his father's retreat on the north: towards the west, his kingdom of Pontus was already occupied by the Romans; it remained to follow and seize him in Armenia, for which purpose Lucullus crossed the Euphrates with two chosen legions, and the proportional contingents of cavalry and allies. In proceeding through Sophené and other districts commonly ascribed to the Lesser Armenia, the Romans observed the utmost forbearance and lenity; no hardship was imposed on the countries through which they marched. A castle was pointed out to them, said to contain great treasures; they wished to plunder it; but Lucullus showing them at a distance the highlands in their way to Tigranocerta, "These," he said, "are the castles we must first take, and then all the rest will be our own." They passed the mountains which supply some of the many

[56] Plutarch. in Lucull.

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sources of the Tigris, and descended into the great Armenian plain, not only without encountering an enemy; but before Tigranes suspected their approach.

Extravagant behaviour of Tigranes.

Prosperity and flattery should seem to have robbed that prince of his senses. He had refused to assist his father-in-law during the dependance of his fortune. After Mithridates had lost his kingdom, Tigranes encountered war in his behalf; yet, with strange inconsistency, in the course of sixteen months had never deigned once to admit the royal fugitive to his presence. His behaviour was equally extravagant on being informed of the Roman invasion: "Take off the slave's head," was his reproof to the first unlucky messenger; and when, at a considerable distance of time, Mithrobarzanes, a prime favourite, ventured to repeat the same ungrateful intelligence, he detached him from Tigranocerta, with orders to seize Lucullus alive, and trample to death his followers.

The Armenians defeated and Tigranocerta besieged.

But in the attempt to execute this commission, the Armenians were defeated with great slaughter, and with the loss of their general. Tigranes, at the head of his guards, then quitted the gorgeous walls of his capital, which were fifty cubits high, and of which the lower parts contained stables for his numerous cavalry. Instead of proceeding immediately against the well fortified camp of the Romans, he thought proper to wait reinforcements which he had ordered to assemble. To disappoint view, Lucullus divided his army; one part

of it, under Sextilius, attacked some tribes of Arabs as they were advancing to join the king, and put them to the rout; another, under Muræna, surprised the king himself, as he was marching through a long and intricate valley, and forced him to a precipitate flight, with the loss of his whole baggage, and many of his best troops either slain or made prisoners. Lucullus in person, with the main body, laid siege to Tigranocerta. [57]

Tigranes disregards the sage advice of Mithridates, and prepares for a new battle.

Humbled by his defeat in the valley, Tigranes condescended to see Mithridates. The latter exhorted his son-in-law by no means to risk a new battle, even for the relief of his capital. He must be contented, he said, to waste the country from which the Romans derived their supplies; to intercept their convoys, and to harass them by his light troops and cavalry, which would compel them to raise the siege, with the disadvantage of an enemy in full force behind them to annoy their retreat. This judicious advice gradually lost influence over the Armenian as his forces grew more numerous. They consisted not only of his native subjects, but of all whom his gold or his promises could draw to his standard; of the fierce independent tribes far beyond Artaxata on both sides the Araxes; of the Iberians, Albanians, and Mardi, the boldest warriors on the Caspian; of the Atyrians and Medes, under national chiefs or kings, recently emancipated from the broken

57 Appian. c. 84—87. & Plutarch. in Lucull.

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power of Parthia. The whole army amounted to 200,000 foot and 55,000 horse; of which latter nearly one half were cataphracts, that is, heavy cavalry, clad in steel, and armed with long spears. When Lucullus had news of the enemy, the specimens which he had already seen of their inefficiency, and want of discipline, encouraged him to leave nearly half his strength under Muræna to continue the siege of Tigranocerta, while he hastened with the larger division, consisting of all his horse and 11,000 foot, to oppose the Armenians, exceeding twenty times his numbers. He encamped behind one of the streams which, under the name of Nicephorius, falls into the Tigris. The king of Armenia had encamped on the opposite side, encumbered with operose luxuries; for although Tigranocerta was invested, a party of his horse had penetrated to a castle in that neighbourhood, and brought to him in safety the royal concubines. The vastness of his army, contrasted with the paucity of the enemy, filled him with confidence; and, as he had dismissed Mithridates, lest that prince should share the glory of his victory, his presumption, altogether uncontrouled, flourished in wilder luxuriance[58] under the rank flattery of his courtiers.

Lucullus's decisive victory on

Before Lucullus could give battle, it was necessary to pass the river in his front. The shal-

[58] Instead of terror, the Romans were a subject of derision. The king said, "they are numerous for an embassy, but too few for an army." In those days embassies had commonly an escort for safety. Plut. in Lucull.

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lowest part had been explored; it lay higher up the stream, which making a bend westward, gave to the Roman army in advancing to the ford the appearance of a retreat. The king, viewing this movement from the eastern bank, exclaimed to those around him, behold the enemy in flight. Taxiles, whom we have before mentioned as one of Mithridates's unfortunate generals, had been left by him at parting with Tigranes, that he might use his utmost endeavours to make that prince avoid a decisive battle, and persevere in the slow but sure mode for relieving Tigranocerta, that had been so earnestly recommended to him. Taxiles had long been deterred by personal danger from interposing any advice obnoxious to the king's pride; but, on the present occasion, he ventured to assure him, that the movement of the Romans in maniples, with bright vestments and shining armour, indicated, instead of flight, a resolution of coming to immediate action. He had hardly spoken when, by a brisk movement to the right, the standards bearing the eagles advanced into the well-known ford; and the eastern bank being gained, the line of march was instantaneously converted into an order of battle. Lucullus availed himself of the nature of the ground contiguous to the enemy's encampment. Behind it, there was an eminence of easy ascent, which overlooked the troops guarding the baggage and beasts of burthen. The decisive attack he determined to direct against this part, for which purpose he sent forth his whole cavalry to pro-

the Nicephorius. Olymp. clxxvii. 4. B. C. 69.

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voke a loose engagement with the enemy, and thereby mask his own movement, with only two chosen cohorts, towards the eminence in question. He ascended it unperceived, and then showing to his followers the baggage and infantry below them, while the horse skirmished on the plain, exclaimed, "The victory is our own."[59] The Romans, completely covered with their bucklers, darted down with their massy and pointed swords to a massacre, not a battle. Surprise multiplied the terrors which they bore with them. The panic of those who guarded the baggage was communicated to the whole Armenian infantry; at the same time that the horse belonging to that nation being pressed on by crowds of fugitives from behind, now began to be vigorously assaulted in front and flank by the Roman cavalry. In this crowded scene, the long spears of the cataphracts proved unavailing, being easily turned aside by the shorter and firmer weapons of their adversaries. The rout was now universal, and the pursuit being continued for twelve miles, until sun-set, was attended with destruction to nearly half the fugitives. Tigranes, with his son of the same name, were foremost in the flight. The king, to avoid discovery, divested his head of the royal diadem. The bearer of it was made prisoner.[60]

Tigranocerta

The dispersion of the Armenian army was

[59] Νικωμεν ὦ ανδρες. Appian, c. 85.
[60] Id. ibid.

followed by the capture of Tigranocerta. That proud city, decked at the expence of prostrate provinces, with its towers and palaces, its parks or paradises, and its immense opulence, became a prey to the Roman soldiers, and satiated their utmost cupidity. The greater part of the booty consisted in precious metals uncoined, and other valuable articles of finery or luxury; for offerings from all parts of his dominions replenished the treasury, and fed the vanity of Tigranes. Eight thousand talents[61], however, were found in specie; from which each Roman soldier had the value of about thirty pounds sterling for his share. The capture of the place had been hastened by an ill-judged precaution employed for its safety. Mancæus, who commanded in it as governor, upon beholding from his watch-tower the ruinous flight of his master, thought fit to disarm all the Greek inhabitants, fearing their concealed hatred to the Armenians. The Greeks, thus dishonoured, thought that some greater evil, perhaps a bloody massacre, awaited them. They assembled in crowds, communicated their complaints, seized such instruments of death as chance threw in their way, and uniting in one regular body, with their garments thrown over their left arms instead of shields, defeated the Armenians who advanced to quell their mutiny. Having stripped the slain, they clothed themselves in their armour, gained possession of part of the wall between

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taken through the revolt of its Greek inhabitants — its vast riches. Olymp. clxxvii. 4. B. C. 69.

[61] Nearly 1,600,000*l.*

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two bastions or rather towers, invited the Romans within the place, and aided them in the conquest of it. This meritorious service did not pass unrewarded. Lucullus acknowledged to the Greeks the full extent of his obligation. All such of them as wished to return home, were sent back enriched to their respective cities; only those who were to have been employed by Tigranes as performers in his newly built theatre of Bacchus, were retained, by liberal rewards, to solemnise the thanksgivings of the Romans for their decisive and almost bloodless victories. [62]

The object of the war attained.

Having divested Mithridates of his dominions, and chastised with due severity his proud Armenian ally, Lucullus wrote to the senate that the object of the war had been effected, and that commissioners might be forthwith sent to reduce into the form of a province the conquered kingdom of Pontus. [63]

Mithridates's compassionate behaviour to his son-in-law.

In the successive defeats of the father-in-law and of the son, the persons of both had eluded the grasp of the conqueror. Mithridates, from the slowness and caution with which he himself had been combated, had little suspected that the same assailants would overwhelm his ally, by audacity and celerity. He was distant several days' journey from Tigranocerta, when the decisive blow was struck; and some flying parties belonging to his son-in-law, first informed

[62] Appian, Mithridat. c. 84. et. seq. Plutarch. in Lucull. Memnon apud Phot. p. 754. Dion. l. xxxv.

[63] Plutarch. in Lucull.

him, how that unfortunate prince, altogether unattended, and anxious only for the safety of his person, had escaped to dark lurking places in the northern and roughest parts of Armenia. Mithridates sought and found him there, treated him with the sympathy of a fellow-sufferer, and having divided with him his own guard, and every other supply with which he was furnished, encouraged him to seek consolation in action, and strenuously to exert himself for collecting a new army, with which, better taught by experience, they might yet successfully make head against their common enemy.[64] At the same time both kings sent embassies into Parthia. The civil wars, which had torn that empire for nearly twenty years, ceased in the declining age of Sinatruces, who, to prevent the recurrence of similar evils, associated with him his son Phrahates III. in the government[65], that it might devolve on him entire, without opposition, after his father's demise. The same expedient, for obviating the calamities incident to disputed successions, had been employed, as we have seen, successfully by the first Greek kings of Syria and Egypt.

His letter to Sinatruces king of Parthia. Olymp. clxxvii. 4. B. C. 69.

As Tigranes had long been at variance with Sinatruces, and had turned to his own advantage the internal disturbances of Parthia by usurping several of its dependencies, particularly northern Mesopotamia, with its great city Nisi-

[64] Plutarch. in Lucull.

[65] Phlegon. apud Phot. p. 267. Conf. Fragment. Sallust. Histor. l. iv.

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bis, he chose to make his application rather to Phrahates, the son of that prince, his actual coadjutor and destined successor. Mithridates, on the other hand, who had never been at war with Parthia, wrote directly to Sinatruces; and his letter, which is still on record, shows him to have been not less able in negociation than he was strenuous in war. To obviate the objection of exhorting the Parthians to mingle their own prosperous circumstances with the difficulties and dangers surrounding Tigranes and himself, he proved to them, by a clear deduction of facts, that peace was no longer in their power, now that the chance of arms had brought the Romans on their frontier. In this review, he explained the proceedings of that people with regard to Macedon, Syria, and Pergamus: how they afterwards usurped dominion over Bithynia and Cappadocia: Pontus and Armenia, as nearest to those kingdoms in place, had also next to them, in point of time, experienced the dire effects of boundless ambition and insatiable avarice. Hitherto, the Romans had prevailed through the disunion of kings, whom reason, honour, justice, and the strongest interest, ought to have consolidated into a hearty confederacy against them. The time, however, was not yet too late for undertaking this natural, nay necessary warfare. From the Euphrates to the Indus, the Parthian empire, now happily at peace within itself, commanded populous provinces, and the greatest cities in the world. The check suffered by Tigranes, had afforded

an instructive lesson; the injuries, inflicted on himself, had inspired immortal revenge. By seasonable exertions against the common enemy, the Parthians might yet avert depredation on their borders, retaliate for the aggressions of Rome by attacking her in their turn, and finally pull down a power that must either itself perish, or cause destruction to every other.[66] We shall afterwards see the effect of this spirited requisition.

Lucullus's proceedings in Cordyené, which won the affections of the natives. Olymp. clxxvii. 4. B. C. 69.

After the battle of Tigranocerta, and the taking of that city, Lucullus set at liberty the reluctant inhabitants of the place, particularly the Cappadocians. He repaired also, to the utmost of his power, the injuries which his own arms, or the cruelty of his enemies, had inflicted. Among the allies, whom his fair renown had procured for him, the swift vengeance of Tigranes had indeed overtaken two persons of great consideration and dignity, before Lucullus could march eastward for their protection. The first of these was Zarbienus, king of Cordyené; the second was Cleopatra Selené, formerly queen of Syria, and who still retained some strong-holds in that country, with the hope of transmitting them to her children. Zarbienus, it should seem, had ill-concealed the treaty which he had entered into with Appius Claudius. This transaction, the pride of Tigranes construed into treason; he usurped the territories of his neighbour, and murdered Zar-

[66] Sallust. Fragment. Histor. l. iv.

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bienus, with his wife and family. The intelligence of their destruction, incurred through zeal for Rome, gave much grief to Lucullus, which he expressed in a manner highly soothing to the afflicted Cordyenians. He acknowledged their late worthy sovereign for his personal friend, as well as for the respected ally of the Roman people. To the subjects of the bewailed prince, he extended his immediate protection, removing their grievances, supplying their exigences, and celebrating with them the obsequies of Zarbienus with a magnificence supplied from the rich spoils of his murderer. With the royal treasures of Cordyené, for much gold and silver had escaped the rapacity of Tigranes, he erected a sumptuous mausoleum to honour the memory of the prince, and gratify the honest pride of the people. Moved by condescensions very unusual with eastern conquerors, the Cordyenians opened their granaries to the Romans, containing three million bushels of corn; and were so much in love with Lucullus, that they would willingly have followed him from their country with their wives and children.[67]

Selené the queen-mother of Syria murdered in her castle in Mesopotamia. Olymp. clxxvii. 3. B. C. 70.

Selené, the mother of Antiochus Eusebes, had, for an offence similar to that of Zarbienus, been murdered[68] in Seleucia, a castle so named in Mesopotamia, at the distance of a few miles from Zeugma, an ordinary passage of the Euphrates. Her two sons, Antiochus and Se-

[67] Plutarch. in Lucull. p. 512.

[68] Josephus Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 749.

leucus, would have shared Selené's fate, had not their good fortune withdrawn them from the tyrant's rage. At that time they were on their return from Rome, whither they had gone to urge their pretensions to the crown of Egypt, against the tyrannical Alexander II., in right of their mother, daughter to Ptolemy Physcon. Having failed in their application to the senate, the sons of Selené prepared to return into Syria; and on their way thither, the elder of them, Antiochus, distinguished by the epithet Asiaticus, landing in the isle of Sicily, was stripped of his most precious effects by the profligate pretor Verres, in the manner so circumstantially described and so keenly arraigned by Cicero.[69] Upon his return to the east, Antiochus learned the death of his mother, and the punishment of her murderer. He hastened to the camp of Lucullus, her avenger. Lucullus received him as his friend; acknowledged his rights to the throne of Syria, now vacant by the defeat and flight of Tigranes; and the protection of the Roman general enabled him to recover part of that country, and retain it for the space of four years, until the settlement of Syria, and all the other generous arrangements of Lucullus were disturbed or done away by Pompey, his jealous successor.[70]

Her son Antiochus Asiaticus restored. Olymp. clxxvii. 4. B. C. 69.

During Lucullus's stay in Cordyené, he was informed that the Parthians, while they nego-

Great views of Lucullus.

[69] Cicero in Verrem, l. iv. c. 27. et seq.

[70] Conf. Plutarch. in Lucull. & in Pompeio.

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ciated with himself, were on the point of concluding a treaty with his enemies. Upon this intelligence he ordered his lieutenants in the conquered provinces to send him all the troops that could be spared with the utmost expedition. His design was to avail himself of the terror which his victories over the kings of Pontus and Armenia had diffused, and to aim such a bold and sudden blow at the Parthians, as should cause them to repent their perfidy. But he had the mortification to learn, that for reasons which will be explained presently, not a soldier could be expected from Pontus, or any part of the Lesser Asia. He was under the necessity, therefore, of abandoning his expedition against the Parthians, and of confining himself to such undertakings as might be accomplished by the forces already under his standard. The district of Tigranocerta, which he commanded, was a beautiful and extensive plain, having the mountains of Cordyené on the east, mount Niphates on the north, and a branch of mount Masius to the south. Mount Niphates was the ascent to the more northern and loftier regions of Armenia, into which Mithridates and Tigranes had thrown themselves to raise new forces, or to collect their scattered followers. Mount Masius may be considered as the solid base of Mesopotamia, whose sides are the Euphrates and Tigris; and the branch of the mountain just mentioned, separated the territory of Tigranocerta from the rich plain of Antiochia

Mygdonia[71] or Nisibis, which great and strong city, with other places conquered by him in northern Mesopotamia, Tigranes purposed to restore to the Parthians as the price of their alliance. Lucullus had thus two objects before him; he might proceed southward and attack Nisibis, which was but forty miles distant from Tigranocerta; or he might cross Niphates in pursuit of the confederate kings, and either bring them to a new battle, or entirely expel them from Armenia.[72]

He crosses mount Niphates in his march to Artaxata. Olymp. clxxviii. 1. B.C. 68.

The taking of Nisibis was the easier of these enterprises, and tempted by the hope of a vast booty; but the more difficult passage of Niphates was also more important, more glorious, and in some measure indispensable, since the Romans never deemed any war to be ended, unless the kings of their enemies had either suffered death, or been made prisoners. This reason decided Lucullus to march northward. It was the summer solstice, yet in ascending the ridge of Niphates he found corn still green in the vallies. He gained possession, however, of magazines well replenished by the enemy. He intercepted their convoys, he severely foraged their country; but none of his measures could tempt them to a battle, until he determined to march towards the vast and rich city Artaxata. This city, in which Tigranes had lodged for safety his wife and children, was 300 miles distant from

[71] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 747.

[72] Plutarch. in Lucull. Appian. Mithridatic. c. 84. et seq.

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Tigranocerta. To reach it, Lucullus passed through part of the same country traversed by Xenophon in his immortal retreat, and came to a river called by that writer the Teleboas [73], one of the largest tributaries to the Euphrates. On the northern bank of this river, the enemy had posted themselves, determined once more to risk the chance of arms. Tigranes, though assisted by the experience of his father-in-law, did not fight with more success than formerly. Their cavalry, indeed, sustained the first shock of the Roman horse, but the sight of the legions inspired terror into all parts of their army; and the rout was only less bloody than after the battle of Tigranocerta, because the numbers were less considerable, and the country more intricate. [74]

Defeats the confederate kings on the Teleboas. Olymp. clxxviii. 1. B. C. 68.

His army refuses to proceed to Artaxata.

The confederate kings made their escape by being foremost in the flight: they pursued the road towards Artaxata, with a view to put that city in a posture of defence, since it was nearly 200 miles distant from the scene of their defeat on the Teleboas, and a country intervened almost impassable for an army even at the autumnal equinox. The Romans had not long followed them through this rough tract before they found the roads covered with snow, and the rivers frozen over: the asperities of the ground cut and crippled the beasts of burden: among confined and intricate paths, the agitation of

[73] "Tel" in Arabic signifies a river. The Teleboas of Xenophon is plainly the Azanias of Plutarch.

[74] Appian. ibid.

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surrounding trees covered the bodies of the soldiers with their icy loads; and the cold, which was grievous on the march by day, became intolerable during the repose of night. Such sufferings might have provoked men not otherwise inclined to mutiny. But the seeds of every disorder, as will be explained presently, had been industriously sown in the army of Lucullus. He counteracted its seditious obstinacy by all the expedients becoming an able commander; but no inducements could prevail with his men to advance a step further on the way to Artaxata, that hostile city, which, according to current report, Hannibal, the keenest enemy of the Romans, had planned[75], and which now harboured Mithridates, an enemy equally inveterate.

Sack of Nisibis. Olymp. clxxviii. 1. B. C. 68.

At this crisis it became necessary to return southward, by the easiest way across the mountains, and to descend into the plain of Antiochia Mygdonia, or Nisibis. To distress the enemy and gratify his soldiers, Lucullus assaulted and sacked that rich and populous city. Guras, the governor, though brother to Tigranes, was treated indulgently; but Callimachus, the same engineer who had defended and set fire to Amisus, could not obtain pardon. He submitted to the humblest petitions, and offered to reveal hidden depositories of treasure, with which none besides was acquainted. But provoked with the disgrace reflected on himself by

[75] Plutarch. in Lucull.

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the burning of Amisus, an Athenian colony, Lucullus denied all mercy to the deliberate perpetrator of so dreadful an enormity.[76]

Party against Lucullus at Rome.

The capture of Nisibis terminated the success of Lucullus, because, from that moment, the companions of his glory became the *instruments* of his disgrace. But the *authors* of his unmerited change of fortune were at a distance, and in the bosom of Rome itself. The proceedings in the Proper Asia, by which he had restrained the extortion of tax-gatherers, set bounds to the exorbitancy of usurers, and at once resisted the corruption of judges and the chicane of lawyers[77], exposed him to the rancorous enmity of all concerned in such abuses, and particularly to the keen resentment of the whole body of Roman knights. The clamours thus excited against a most meritorious commander, gained strength and effect from the unhappy circumstances of the times. In the progress of luxury and vanity, fomented by an accumulation of external advantages, the Romans had come to that degraded state of society, in which there are comparatively so few individuals of real worth, that those who can best assume the semblance of it, acquire unbounded popularity, and become the fond idols of vile tribes of weak or worthless votaries. An idol of this kind, public partiality had erected in the person of

Popularity of Pompey.

[76] Plutarch. in Lucull.

[77] Odium Romanis incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumnia litium. Mithridat. Orat. ad Milites, apud Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 7.

Cneius Pompeius, the son of Cneius Pompeius Strabo, the only general who had triumphed, and that without any very substantial success, in the disastrous war with the allies. In the civil war, which immediately followed the social one, young Pompey took part with Sylla, and maintained that cause with glory at the head of armies in Italy, Sicily, Gaul, Africa, and Spain. At his return from Africa he was saluted by Sylla with the title of Great, before his twenty-fifth year, and triumphed for his victories over Domitius in Africa and Sertorius in Spain, while he had yet reached no higher civil dignity than that of a Roman knight; a thing unprecedented, and in every view unwarrantable, since the fundamental laws of the republic reserved the triumph for those only who had borne the offices of consul or pretor, and who, instead of suppressing, as Pompey had done, domestic rebels, had proved signally victorious over foreign enemies. Sylla perceived his too lofty pretensions; but, as they aimed rather at honour than power, he viewed with little fear a man educated in his own school of policy, and who seemed to him totally devoted to the interests of the senate. He, besides, respected Pompey as one of the dearest of his personal friends, insomuch, that many were surprised when, at last, he showed a decided preference to Lucullus, both by dedicating to him his memoirs, and by naming him for guardian to his son.[78]

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[78] Conf. Plutarch. in Sylla. & in Pompeio.

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His consulship with Crassus. Olymp. clxxvii. 3. B. C. 70.

After Sylla's death, Pompey obtained the consulship without having passed through any of the inferior offices of magistracy, which were the ordinary and legal steps for ascending to that dignity. His colleague was Licinius Crassus, a man ten years older than himself, distinguished both as an advocate and as an officer, but whose principal recommendation was his immense wealth, which enabled him to entertain the people at 10,000 tables, and to distribute among them corn for the supply of three months. The fortune of Crassus, after defraying these expensive gratuities, amounted to 7,100 talents, about 1,400,000 pounds sterling; but considering the exchangeable value of money in those days, equivalent to three times that sum. This extraordinary measure of opulence had been acquired chiefly by purchasing confiscated estates in Italy during the time of the proscriptions, and by purchasing houses at Rome when exposed to danger from decay or conflagration. Crassus maintained trained bands of builders, carpenters, and other mechanics, who were watchful either to avert harm from the houses which he had bought, or always ready at hand to repair it. By this means, many streets of the capital had fallen into his possession; besides which source of income, he kept great numbers of slaves, exercised not only in coarse laborious trades, but in reading, writing, keeping accounts, and cookery; from whose skill, let to hire, he derived a vast revenue. It is said that he refused lending his money at interest, though he often accommodated his

friends with considerable sums, never omitting, however, to have recourse to legal means for recovery, when payment was delayed beyond the stipulated day.[79]

Changes introduced by them in the government.

The consulship of Pompey and Crassus, which happened in the same year that Lucullus conquered Pontus and pursued its fugitive king into Armenia, was marked by events fatal eventually to the republic, and more directly to the authority and the fame of its most meritorious general. By the authority of Pompey and the munificence of Crassus, and through the passion for popularity that domineered both, the constitution, which they had helped Sylla to establish at the price of so much blood, was completely overturned in the course of a few months. Within that space of time, the senate lost its authority; the assembly by centuries, a legislature founded in property, was entirely set aside; the tribunes once more proposed laws in the tumultuary assembly by tribes; and the knights, of whom Pompey was regarded as the ornament and the patron, were again exclusively invested with nearly the whole judiciary power both in Rome and in the provinces. The effects of these alterations began soon to appear in the most distant parts of the empire, and more especially in the armies commanded by Lucullus. By the creatures of Pompey, that general was accused of protracting the war, merely that he might enrich himself; the ma-

Mutiny occasioned thereby in Lucullus's army.

[79] Plutarch. in Crasso.

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nagers of the revenues and money-lenders in Asia, consisting almost wholly of Roman knights, re-echoed the accusation; sedition was first sown among the troops whom Lucullus had left behind him in Pontus: it was quickly communicated to the army with which he pursued Mithridates into Armenia, where Publius Clodius, a young man destined to much future infamy on account of his factious spirit and profligacy, though brother to Lucullus's wife, was among the foremost in crossing the designs and calumniating the character of his general. At the instigation chiefly of Clodius, the soldiers, after taking Nisibis, embraced the resolution of not advancing a step farther against the discomfited kings. Clodius confirmed their mutiny, by contrasting their own hardships in traversing mountains and deserts with the far happier lot of Pompey's soldiers, who, after short and easy services in Spain or Italy, had been settled in comfortable farms with their wives and families. Such as had still strength and spirits, he exhorted to reserve these personal advantages for a general worthy to command armies, and willing to enrich them; "for the Great and generous Pompey[80], who delighted to make citizens of his soldiers, and to procure for them, as the fair fruits of victory, happy domestic accommodations and high political honours."

Mithridates thus enabled to

By the delay of the Romans at Nisibis and in the neighbouring districts of Tigranocerta

[80] Plutarch. in Lucull. Conf. Dio. l. xxxvi. p. 15.

and Cordyené, Tigranes had time to fortify himself in the central parts of Armenia; and Mithridates, with 4000 men furnished to him by that prince, and nearly an equal number who, amidst all his adversities, remained attached to his person, made an unexpected irruption into Pontus, and, wherever he came, revived in the breasts of his subjects that sentiment of loyalty which formed almost their only principle of virtue. The accessions thus acquired to his little army, enabled him to cope with the lieutenants whom Lucullus had left in the province. Fabius was defeated with the loss of five hundred men, and shut up in Cabira. Triarius received a blow still more decisive on the banks of the Iris. Mithridates having put him to the rout, and taken possession of his camp, spoiled the bodies of the slain, who were found to exceed 7000; and among them twenty-four legionary tribunes and one hundred and fifty centurions; a loss, in point of officers, rarely sustained by the Romans.[81] In both these actions Mithridates, in his sixty-ninth year, fought with a juvenile ardour, and in both was wounded. In the pursuit of Triarius his wound was inflicted by a Roman centurion, disguised like a Cappadocian attendant. As the king's head and body were well guarded in mail, the centurion aimed his thrust at the thigh, and deeply pierced it. An uproar was excited; the pursuit ceased; the assassin was discovered and

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re-appear in arms. Olymp. clxxviii. 1. B. C. 68.

His victories and wounds. Olymp. clxxviii. 2. B. C. 67.

[81] Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 89.

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instantly dispatched; and all ranks in the army crowded in confusion the plain around the body of their bleeding general. Timotheus, a Greek surgeon, dressed the wound, and causing the king to be raised aloft, showed him full of life to his anxious followers; an incident deemed the more honourable to Mithridates, because something similar had formerly happened to the Great Alexander.[83]

The Romans and their conquests saved by the exertions of Lucullus. Olymp. clxxviii. 2. B. C. 67.

When Lucullus heard reports (for no certain messenger arrived to him) of the sad disasters in Pontus, he endeavoured to rouse his soldiers, through a sense of shame, to accompany him into that country, and to prevent the province, which they had subdued, from again falling disgracefully into the hands of their vanquished enemy. They followed him, but without respect for their general, or unanimity among themselves. Upon entering Pontus, he found the troops there in sedition. It was with difficulty that he snatched the rash Triarius from their hands. By opposing this mutiny, he provoked still farther the general animosity against himself; and when it was understood that Acilius Glabrio, consul of the preceding year, had been named for his successor, the soldiers declared that they considered their service as ended, and demanded their dismission. Lucullus omitted no expedient, however mortifying to his own dignity, to keep them six months longer under his standard; and his seasonable condescensions,

[83] Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 89.

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as Acilius, a general of no account, never advanced beyond Bithynia, saved from the vengeance of the enemy those madmen themselves as well as the conquests which, in their sounder mind, they had so gloriously achieved. [83]

Proceedings of the party adverse to him at Rome — artifices of Pompey. Olymp. clxxviii. 2. B. C. 67.

The six months which Lucullus spent inactively, but, since he kept the enemy in check, not uselessly, in Pontus, were big with important events, which ultimately decided not only the fortune of the Mithridatic war, but the fate of the Roman commonwealth. Acilius Glabrio, a creature of Pompey's, had been sent to supersede Lucullus, but at the same time a commission of an extraordinary nature was conferred on Pompey himself, which would render it natural, nay, necessary, that he should in a short time supersede Acilius. This commission was granted on the motion of the tribune Gabinius; for Pompey knowing the senate and higher orders of men averse to high prerogatives vested in individuals, applied himself wholly to the popular party, that is, to the assembly by tribes, and its managers the tribunes. As if no engine were too coarse for operating on such minds, he had taken an oath, at entering on his consulship, that after the expiration of it he would not accept, as usual with Roman magistrates, of any command or province abroad, by which he might enrich himself and his family. In fact, there were not any foreign employments vacant that could

[83] Plutarch. in Lucull.

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make him willing to leave the capital. The conduct of the war in Asia, long committed to other hands, was the only appointment which could compensate that sacrifice; and Pompey had the discernment to perceive, that, to render the war in Asia completely successful, it must be carried on by sea as well as land.

Power of the Greek pirates, and danger from them to Rome itself.

The Greek pirates had by this time become more formidable enemies than the confederate kings Mithridates and Tigranes. They had increased the number of their gallies and their strong-holds. Their harbours, their places of deposit, their watch-towers and their prisons, were scattered over all the coasts of the Mediterranean; which were all of them, by turns, deformed by the rapacity and cruelty, the odious intemperance and noisy carousals of their crews. The vessels of the pirates exhibited a variety of forms the best adapted to different kinds of service; and to add insult to injury, many of them were adorned with the most preposterous magnificence; with purple sails, with gilded sterns; the very oars, it is said, were inlaid with silver. Not contented with capturing gallies at sea, they attacked the strongest harbours, and burnt the guard-ships of Rome in the port of Ostia; they invaded even the inland parts of Italy, carried off magistrates with their fasces, honourable matrons and noble virgins; every prize, in a word, that they deemed valuable intrinsically, or that tempted them with the hope of a rich ransom.[84] Of these proceedings,

[84] Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 92. et seq.

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Rome, as the mightiest power in the world, felt not only the principal shame, but, as a vast and most populous city, was exposed by them to peculiar danger. From the province of Africa, from Sicily, Sardinia, and from other fertile countries subject to her dominion, she imported annually above 70,000,000 modii of corn [85] (each modius weighing about twenty pounds), and requiring for its transport nearly [86] 700,000 tonnage of shipping. The obstruction given to the corn-trade by pirates raised that article and all its substitutes to such a price in Italy, as threatened the whole country with famine. To obviate this evil, the Romans, in the course of the Mithridatic war, had fitted out various armaments, particularly, under Servilius, surnamed Isauricus, from his conquest of Isauria, the roughest and most warlike district in Pisidia; and under Metellus, a man of consular dignity, actually employed against the isle of Crete, which, next to Cilicia, was the main bulwark of the pirates. [87]

Methods hitherto taken with them unsuccessful.

Notwithstanding partial successes under these and other admirals, the price of corn at Rome

Pompey's extraordinary com-

[85] About 40 years after this period, Augustus, as we shall see below, imported 20,000,000 of modii, or pecks of corn, from Egypt. Aurelius Victor. The quantity imported from Africa was double that from Egypt. Joseph. de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 16. Stating the importation from Sicily and Sardinia collectively at only 10,000,000 of modii, the whole will amount to 70,000,000.

[86] The weight of grain varies in different countries and seasons. The Gallic was the lightest, weighing 20 pounds the modius. The African was the heaviest, weighing 21 pounds nine ounces. Plin. N. H. l. viii. c. 7.

[87] Appian. ibid.

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mission against them.

Olymp. clxxviii. 2. B. C. 67.

did not diminish. The pirates easily repaired the losses which they sustained at sea, and when expelled from one strong-hold found refuge in another. To cure the malady which preceding remedies had not even palliated, the tribune Gabinius moved a resolution, that Pompey, for the space of three years, should be invested with dominion over all the seas navigated by the Romans, and all the shores subject to their authority, to the distance of fifty miles inland; a description of territory that comprehended nearly the whole of the Roman empire, consisting mainly of sea-coast. So extraordinary a decree was opposed by the senate, by the wiser and better part of the citizens, and most zealously resisted by the friends of Lucullus, who considered it as a plan for supplanting that general, and robbing him of his well-earned laurels. To overcome this opposition Gabinius had recourse to a singular expedient. He caused a banner to be painted, with the view of a magnificent house, which Lucullus, it seems, had ordered to be built, and had this banner paraded through the streets to stigmatise the rapacity and vanity of this upstart peculator.[88] The device succeeded; Lucullus became an object of reproach; and Pompey was extolled to the skies as the man destined to save his country. With pretended modesty, Pompey affected studiously to decline the vast power that was offered to him; and to avoid envy,

His deep artifices and

[88] Cicero pro P. Sextio, c. 47.

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entered the city by night, while he made arrangements for raising and supporting an armament of unrivalled magnitude. He was to be furnished with five hundred gallies; one hundred and twenty thousand sailors, soldiers, and marines; a body of five thousand horse; six thousand talents in ready money, and an unlimited command over the Roman exchequer and receivers of revenue in all parts of the empire. These mighty preparations were completed about the end of winter. He set sail in the beginning of spring, and effectually executed his commission by the middle of summer. Before he left Italy, the public confidence in all his undertakings occasioned a sensible diminution in the price of provisions at Rome, so that war, in this single instance, afforded the promise of plenty.[89]

mighty preparations.

The general expectation was not disappointed. None could have managed more skilfully than Pompey the extraordinary resources entrusted to him. Having chosen twenty-five lieutenant-generals or vice-admirals, for they were empowered to act in either capacity, he divided among them into as many departments[90] the whole expanse of the Mediterranean sea, allotting to each his particular station, while himself, at the head of sixty stout gallies, sailed in pursuit of his prey, and chased the pirates, as it were, into the toils which he had industriously

Pompey's judicious measures for subduing them.

[89] Plutarch. in Pompeio.

[90] The numbers of the vice-admirals and the departments are not stated uniformly.

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spread for them. He began with the coasts of Spain and Gaul, and the seas of Sardinia and Sicily; and while his fleet sailed round the peninsula of Italy, he landed at Pæstum, and crossed the country to Brundusium, maintaining the state, and receiving the submission due to a great monarch. The consul Piso, who was suspected of want of alacrity in obeying his orders, would have been deposed by the tribes on a motion of the tribune Gabinius, had not Pompey interfered to prevent his degradation. Having re-embarked at Brundusium, he pursued the same mode of warfare through all his eastern departments; the coasts of Greece and Macedon, of Asia Minor and the Isles; treating with well-judged lenity such pirates as fell into his hands, and thereby inducing others to yield voluntarily. In the space of forty days, he had cleared the western seas; in about double that time, he as effectually swept the eastern. The pirates either submitted to his squadrons skilfully disposed for intercepting them, or stole to Coracesium and the neighbouring creeks of Cilicia, the primary source of their power, and, also, their last refuge.

His prudent treatment of the vanquished — the liberation of captives greatly redounds to his fame.

Olymp. clxxviii. 2. B. C. 67.

Pompey pursued them thither, well provided with engines of battery, as if obstinate sieges were to have been expected. But he conquered merely by the terror of his preparations, and the mercy which he showed to his prostrate enemies. The pirates every where surrendered their shipping, with vast magazines of timber, sails, and cordage. In the course of the war

378 gallies were taken or sunk, and 120 harbours destroyed: 10,000 of the enemy were slain, and above 20,000 remained prisoners. By his proceedings towards these prisoners, the conqueror greatly increased his fame. He carefully inquired into their behaviour and characters, and separated such as had been seduced by the force of example and ill advice, from those deemed irreclaimable. To the former he assigned several districts in Cilicia, made desolate as we have seen, by the ravages of Tigranes; particularly the territories of Mallos, Aduna, Epiphania, and Soli; which last-named city, being repaired and re-peopled by Pompey, assumed, in honour of its benefactor, the name of Pompeiopolis. Another incident greatly conducive to his renown, was the liberation of numerous prisoners, whom he found in the hands, or strong-holds, of the pirates. As these consisted chiefly of persons of high rank, belonging to all the countries round the Mediterranean sea, they spread far and wide the fame of their deliverer, and, as it seemed, their restorer to life, since many of them at their return home, beheld cenotaphs that had been erected for them by their bewailing friends.[91] CHAP. XXVII.

Crete subdued by Metellus. Olymp. clxxviii. 2. B.C. 67.

During these transactions on the continent, some obstinate cities in Crete were still besieged by Metellus. Lappa, one of these cities, sent offers of surrendering to Pompey; who, without any intimation to Metellus, dispatched his lieu-

[91] Appian. c. 96.

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tenant Octavius to receive its submission. Metellus, the more justly piqued at this affront because the war of Crete had been committed to himself before Pompey was commissioned against the pirates, continued the siege of the place, and having taken it, dismissed Octavius disgracefully to his employer. In this bold act, the only one which showed in those times that Pompey was not yet sole master of the commonwealth, Metellus was afterwards supported by the senate, and obtained a triumph and the surname of Creticus[92], from reducing to unconditional submission an island which had long abused its liberty. His triumph, however, was delayed three years through the opposition of Pompey's creatures.[93] In point of right indeed, his conduct may be estimated variously. No part of Crete being fifty miles distant from the sea, the whole of that island might be ascribed to the extensive jurisdiction delegated to Pompey: but, as the conquest of Crete was on the point of being completed before Pompey left Italy, it was highly invidious in him to interfere with a war so nearly terminated; and to treat with the Cretans, without the slightest intimation to Metellus, appears to have been equally presumptuous and irregular.

Pompey obtains a commission by

The debates which might have arisen at Rome from this transaction were silenced by a question of far greater magnitude. Pompey hav-

[92] Appian. ibid. & in Histor. Sicil. l. vi. c. 2.

[93] Cicero. Academ. l. ii. c. 1. Conf. Dion. l. xxxvi. p. 8. Sallust. Catal. c 30.

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ing destroyed the pirates and restored plenty to Italy, it was proposed by Manilius, another tribune in his interest, that he should remain in the command of the same armament, and that the inland countries of Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Armenia, should be added to his province. This was not only to commit to him the war against the kings of Pontus and Armenia, but rather to subject to his authority the far greater part of the empire. The decree, highly offensive to the senate, was warmly opposed by Catulus and Hortensius. It was supported by Julius Cæsar, then in his 33d year, and who, having incurred the displeasure of good men, rather as a libertine than as a disturber of the state, in the affairs of which he had yet taken little part, was anxious to gain the multitude, and eager to trample on all those regulations which overawed the boldness of ambition. It was supported also by Cicero, a man of a totally different character, who then held the office of pretor, with a near prospect of the consulship. Cicero was in his 40th year, precisely of the same age with Pompey[94], whose popular virtues he admired, and seven years older than Cæsar[95], whose morals he held in abhorrence. It has been conjectured that in abetting pretensions which endangered the public liberty, Cicero was guided merely by interest, since his opposition to Pompey might have defeated his own election

which he supersedes Lucullus. Olymp. clxxviii. 3. B. C. 66.

Why abetted by Cæsar and by Cicero.

[94] Velleius, l. ii. c. 53. A. Gell. l. xv. c. 28.
[95] Plutarch. in Cæsar.

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for consul. The writings, however, of this illustrious Roman, will warrant us in ascribing to him a different, though less obvious motive. With the love of virtue and the republic, which glowed intensely in the breast of Cicero, another passion unfortunately mingled, of a less noble nature, the desire of popular fame. That this passion was immoderate, his life and writings afford conspicuous proofs. Fame was the prize at which he aimed: his weakness of bodily constitution sought it through the most strenuous labours; his natural timidity of mind pursued it through the greatest dangers; Pompey, who had fortunately attained it, he contemplated as the happiest of men, and was led from this illusion of fancy not only to speak of him, but really to think of him with a fondness of respect bordering on enthusiasm.[96] The glare of glory that surrounded Pompey, concealed from Cicero his many and great imperfections; and seduced an honest citizen and the finest genius in Rome, a man of unparalleled industry, and that generally applied to the noblest purposes, into the prostitution of his abilities and virtues for exalting an ambitious chief, and investing him with such exorbitant and unconstitutional powers, as virtually subverted the commonwealth.

Pompey general in the East.

Pompey was in the midst of his friends in Cilicia when he received intimation that the

[96] See examples of this, even when Pompey was no more; particularly Orat. pro Rege Dejotaro.

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Romans had chosen him for their general in the East. Affecting much displeasure at this intelligence, he rejected the congratulations of those around him, angrily knit his brows, and striking his thigh in passion, exclaimed, "Is there to be no term, then, to my labours? Will my enemies never cease to load me with invidious honours, destructive of my repose, and dangerous to my fortunes?" This excess of affectation appeared contemptible in the eyes even of his vilest dependants.[97] They knew what pains he had taken to procure an appointment, which put the whole force of the republic at his disposal. They knew that the elevation just attained, was the fondest object of his ambition; nor were they ignorant that his joy in supplanting Lucullus, and intercepting the laurels due to that rival, added peculiar zest to his delight, in contemplating the lofty prerogatives with which he was invested.

Olymp. clxxviii. 3. B.C. 66.

His proceedings — return of Lucullus to Rome.

Could the farce, which Pompey's dissimulation acted, have concealed his real emotions, the secret, however, would have been betrayed by the measures which he instantly and eagerly pursued. Careless of other affairs, his whole attention was directed towards the Mithridatic war. He sent messengers to the Roman generals, dispatched ambassadors to foreign powers, and hastened in person into Upper Phrygia, that he might join Lucullus's army to his own, while his fleet, divided into separate squadrons, had

[97] Plutarch in Pompeio. Dion. l. xxxvi. p. 22.

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orders to line the three seas that wash the peninsula of Asia. At Damalis, near the eastern frontier of Phrygia[98], he had a conference with the commander, whom he had been eager to supersede: this interview was with difficulty brought about by the interposition of common friends, and ended, as might easily have been foreseen, in heightening mutual disgust. Shortly afterwards, Lucullus, escorted by sixteen hundred men, with great riches and a vast library, set sail for Italy to claim his well-earned triumph, which was opposed invidiously, but unsuccessfully, by Pompey's partisans in the city.[99]

Negociations with Phrahates and Mithridates. Olymp. clxxviii. 3. B. C. 66.

Meanwhile Tigranes had been using his best endeavours to heal the wounds of Armenia, and Mithridates had taken post on the western frontier of Pontus, with thirty-thousand foot and three thousand horse. The latter of these princes sent to negociate an alliance with Phrahates III.[100] of Parthia, but found, to his deep regret, his expectations in that quarter anticipated and frustrated by Pompey. He then dispatched ambassadors to the Roman camp, requesting to know on what terms he might obtain peace. Pompey replied, "If you instantly collect for me all Roman deserters, and

[98] Damalis is near the eastern extremity of Galatia, itself the eastern district of Phrygia. Strabo, l. xii. p. 567.

[99] Plutarch. in Lucull.

[100] Phrahates III. was the twelfth of the Arsacidæ; the third in succession after Mithridates II. surnamed the Great, who was the ninth king of Parthia.

together with them, surrender yourself." [101] This haughty answer, being communicated to the Cappadocian army, occasioned a degree of confusion and uproar that threatened a general mutiny. The deserters represented to their fancies the dreadful punishments prepared for them; the Cappadocians reflected on their own helplessness, should they be deprived of such zealous and skilful auxiliaries. To quell the rising tumult, Mithridates declared, "That no peace could be made with a merciless and insatiable enemy. He well knew the Romans; and if he had applied to them with an apparent view to accommodation, it was really that he might be the better enabled to ascertain their actual posture, and to penetrate their future designs." [102]

Pompey's campaign against the latter.

These designs Pompey did not long leave doubtful. With an army superior to the Cappadocians, even in point of numbers, he passed the river Iris into the richest district of Pontus, eager to bring the campaign to the speediest decision possible. Mithridates retreated before him, desolating the adjacent country on his march. To obviate the wants thereby occasioned, Pompey made dispositions for securing supplies from behind; and, as he advanced eastward, instead of directly following Mithridates, threw himself to the right on Lesser Armenia [103], a strip of land on this side the

[101] Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. c. 98.
[102] Dion Cassius, l. xxxvi. p. 22.
[103] Αρμενια Βραχυτερα. Appian c. 90. & 105.

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Euphrates, separating at a place called Synoria [104], the kingdoms of Armenia and Pontus. Meanwhile Mithridates continued his retreat, regretting that, by the desolation of one of his provinces, he had only forced the enemy to fall down on another. As he proceeded on his route, his army augmented by such numbers of irregular cavalry, that he began in his turn to want provisions and forage. This and other evils, suffered or apprehended, gave occasion to discontent and desertion: many fugitives escaped; others were caught in the attempt, for which Mithridates inflicted on them enormous punishments; throwing them from precipices, boring out their eyes, and sometimes burning them alive. [105]

The frequency of desertion, joined to the want of supplies, at length determined Mithridates to the bold design of surprising the enemy in the Lesser Armenia. But, as the Roman divisions kept on the alert, he was obliged to occupy a strong post in that province, and to act on the defensive; yet the irregulars who had lately joined him, were subjected to severe losses, owing to that undisciplined fury characteristic of Asiatic troops; their mad confidence in success, their equally frantic despondency under misfortune; and on one occasion the impetuosity of a body of horsemen in sal-

[104] The word denotes the meeting of boundaries.

[105] Appian. c. 97. Conf. Plutarch. in Lucull. & in Pomp.

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lying dismounted, and without orders from the camp.[106]

Defeat of Mithridates near the destined site of Nicopolis. Olymp. clxxviii. 3. B. C. 66.

In consequence of the enemy's dejection occasioned by these defeats, Pompey was enabled to get behind them, and to fortify a chain of posts in their rear. Upon learning this operation, Mithridates, fearful of being cooped up and starved, embraced the resolution of effecting his escape in the night, after he had slain not only his beasts of burthen, but all such sick and wounded as were unable to follow him. He then pursued his flight towards the nearest passage across the Euphrates, resting only in the hottest part of the day, and being closely pursued by the Romans, who by a forced march at the hour when the Cappadocians were in profound repose, again got between them and the river. Pompey, with admirable judgment, occupied the sides of a deep valley, through which the enemy had to pass, and into which they accordingly penetrated, believing that the Romans either followed far behind, or had entirely desisted from the pursuit. It was night; the moon had not yet risen; the Cappadocians were inclosed within the intricacies of a winding den. Under these circumstances, Pompey ordered the alarm to be sounded by shouts, trumpets, the clang of brazen vessels, and clashing shields, complications of sound re-echoed by the neighbouring hills, and thereby rendered the more frightful. The Cappadocian horse and

[106] Appian. Mithridat. c. 100.

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foot thronged on each other with much mutual injury, while the Roman darts and javelins inflicted dreadful wounds on defenceless crowds, since equipped for a march, and unsuspicious of being forced to a battle. When the moon arose, its deceitful light farther augmented the evil; for as it shone from behind the Romans, occupying the eastern eminences, the Cappadocians discharged their missile weapons against empty shadows, which they mistook for ranks of enemies, while their own close order exposed them as sure marks to the Roman pila.[107] In the surprise, the battle, and the rout, Mithridates lost a great army. Historians state the slain and taken at twenty-thousand[108]; many considerable divisions, however, effected their escape[109], particularly a mixed brigade of Asiatics and Europeans, armed after the Roman fashion.[110]

Mithridates flies to Armenia.

Towards the commencement of the action, the king, deeming his misfortune irretrievable, broke through a narrow outlet in the valley, at the head of 800 horse, and thus eluded the grasp of Pompey, as formerly that of Lucullus. Even this squadron, anxious for its own safety, gradually deserted him. He was left for three days with only three attendants, one of whom was his concubine Hipsycratea, mounting a Persian horse, and equipped like a Persian archer. This woman never departed from his

[107] Dion. Cassius, l. xxxvi. p. 23. et seq.
[108] Appian. & Plutarch. [109] Dion, ibid.
[110] This body of men will appear hereafter.

side, nor ceased to soothe his sufferings, cautiously assisting him in traversing ravines or clambering over precipices, and, superior to fatigue as well as danger, dressed throughout the journey the king's horse and her own.[111] At length the fugitives encountered a body of 3000 Cappadocian cavalry, which had assembled to reinforce their sovereign, and by whom Mithridates was conducted to the above-mentioned fortress of Synoria, the principal of seventy-five[112] strong-holds in that neighbourhood, containing precious metals and other valuable effects. The treasures in Synoria were now distributed by their owner, to the amount of 6000 talents. He also, from the same repository, supplied his attendants with poison, as their last refuge against the vengeance of their fell pursuers. His design was to throw himself on the protection of his son-in-law Tigranes, through whose assistance he yet expected to be soon able to resume hostilities.

Then to Dioscurias in Colchis.

But Tigranes had recently slain two of his rebellious sons by the daughter of Mithridates, and was engaged in war with the third. He suspected that the grandfather of these disappointed parricides was not unconcerned in their treason. He therefore detained in custody the ambassadors from the flying king, and fixed a price on his own head. Upon this intelligence, Mithridates, instead of approaching Artaxata,

[111] Plutarch. in Pompeio. Conf. Valer. Maxim. l. iv. c. 6.
[112] Strabo. l. xii. p. 555.

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where Tigranes then resided, directed his course towards the head of the Euphrates, and having traversed the mountainous tracts that lead into Colchis, proceeded through that country, without halting, until he reached Dioscurias, on its northern frontier.[113] Here he stood on the confines of the fiercest nations of Scythia, many of them his friends, among all of whom his name was respected or terrible, and, through whose warlike alacrity, he was stimulated to designs greater than any that he had yet meditated; and which were baffled, as will be seen, and made abortive, by a concurrence of incidents to be ascribed rather to the malignity of his own fortune, than to the power or policy of his Roman enemies.

Nicopolis built and peopled. Olymp. clxxviii. 3. B. C. 66.

Meanwhile Pompey, having contented himself with sending his light cavalry in pursuit of Mithridates, embraced measures for raising a lasting trophy to his fame in the new city Nicopolis, a name destined to commemorate a victory which he deemed altogether decisive. It was built near the scene of action, on the northern frontier of the Lesser Armenia, and in the neighbourhood both of the Araxes and Euphrates[114], rivers taking their rise from mountainous sources only six miles asunder, though flowing, the former into the Caspian, the latter into the Persian gulph. Nicopolis was hastily peopled by aged or disabled soldiers, united

[113] Plut. Appian. Dion.

[114] Cf. Strabo, ubi supra, & Plin. l. vi. c. 9.

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with such natives of the neighbouring districts as chose to leave their homes, in order to reinforce a community invested with many privileges, and sure of powerful protection.[115]

Pompey is joined by the younger Tigranes.

While Pompey was employed in raising this monument of his eastern conquests, he was joined by an illustrious fugitive, the son and heir to Tigranes, and himself bearing that royal name. By the assistance of Phrahates III. of Parthia, whose daughter he had married, this younger Tigranes had divested the elder of great part of Armenia, and was prosecuting the siege of Artaxata, when commotions on the Scythian frontier drew Phrahates homeward. After the departure of his powerful ally, the rebellious son was defeated in battle by his father; his followers were slain or dispersed. To avoid the dreadful effects of paternal vengeance, he at first fled towards his grandfather Mithridates, but upon learning the sad discomfiture of that prince, he saw no other resource than that of throwing himself on the protection of Pompey.[116]

Invasion of Armenia and abject submission of its king. Olymp. clxxviii. 3. B. C. 66.

The general received him with that courtesy which the Romans always assumed towards those qualified to serve them. His father had provoked their resentment by invading Cappadocia, by desolating Cilicia, by possessing himself of Syria; above all, by abetting Mithridates, their mortal enemy. The military commission of

[115] Plut. in Pomp. & Dion. p. 25.

[116] Appian. c. 104. Plutarch. in Pomp. & Dion [illegible]is, l. xxxvi.

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Pompey embraced, therefore, Armenia, not less than Pontus; and now that Pontus had neither king nor army to defend it, and was ready to be occupied by legionary detachments by way of garrisons, an experienced and zealous guide was a matter of much importance in the invasion of a country so rough and intricate as Armenia. Such a guide having offered himself in the person of a fugitive prince, Pompey conducted the flower of his army into that kingdom, and advanced, without making a halt, until within sixteen miles of the capital. Terror preceded him to the palace of Artaxata; and a suppliant deputation came from the trembling king, whose abjectness in adversity was proportional to the odious insolence with which he had abused his good fortune. The deputies carried with them, as prisoners, the ambassadors recently sent to Artaxata by Mithridates, and surrendered them into the hands of Pompey. But this infamous present, instead of procuring favour, was rejected by the Romans as an insult to the sacred laws of nations; and their general, instigated by Tigranes the son, who expected to reap the fruits of his father's forfeiture, would listen to no terms short of unconditional submission. To this sad disgrace the haughty Armenian was compelled to descend; and the same man now laboured, by every mean expedient, to excite commiseration in Pompey, who had long trampled without mercy on prostrate kings of the East. He divested himself of his candys or robe of royalty, but retained the tiara encircled

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with the diadem, to indicate the lofty state from which he had fallen; and opening the gates of Artaxata, issued forth with his friends and relatives to implore the invader's clemency. Apprised of their approach, Pompey sent a party of distinguished officers to meet them. At sight of this martial cavalcade, the attendants of Tigranes took fright, and fled in different directions; but the king rode forward till met by two lictors, who dismounted him, saying that no stranger could enter a Roman camp on horseback. They instantly conducted him to the tribunal of the general, at whose feet Tigranes, in order to mitigate his doom, abjectly laid his diadem. Pompey ordered him to resume the royal ornament, and raising him to his right hand, the son of the abased sovereign occupying the left, "Your submission," he said, "Tigranes, instead of depriving you of a kingdom, has gained you the Romans for protectors. You must relinquish, however, all claims on our side of the Euphrates, and pay six thousand talents to indemnify us for the expense of the war. On these terms you shall still reign in Armenia, resigning only the small province of Sophené, on the left bank of the river, to your son, in whose favour you will likewise settle the succession to your crown." [117]

Brutal behaviour and punishment of his son.

This merciful decision, which filled the father with pleasing astonishment, exasperated the son to madness. That night, he refused Pompey's

[117] Plutarch. in Pomp. & Dion. p. 26

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invitation to supper: he behaved to his father with brutal savageness; he immediately took measures for possessing himself of a fortress in Sophené, which, as it contained the royal treasury, had been excepted in the grant of that district. The audacity of the young Armenian, who laboured to excite a war on the part of Phrahates III. of Parthia, subjected him to all the severity of Roman vengeance: he was, by command of Pompey, put in irons, and remained in that wretched condition until released by the hand of an executioner, after he had adorned the victor's triumph.[118] The father, meanwhile, readily discharged the fine of 6000 talents imposed on him; and in addition to this sum, amounting nearly to 1,200,000l., bestowed a gratuity equivalent to thirty shillings on each Roman soldier; the value of thirty pounds on each centurion; and ten times the latter value on each tribune, that is, on every officer commanding a cohort or regiment.[119]

Pompey's war against the Iberians and Albanians. Olymp. clxxviii. 4. B. C. 65.

The cowardly munificence of Tigranes procured for his nation the title of a Roman ally. But as the first fruits of this coveted distinction, he had the mortification of seeing Pompey fix his winter quarters in the Armenian district Anaitis. This district, which was defended chiefly by the river Cyrus from the most warlike nations of Caucasus, derived its name from that of the goddess to whom it was immemorially consecrated. Either in her idol or in her wor-

[118] Appian. c. 105—117.

[119] Plutarch. in Pompeio.

ship, the Greeks recognised some affinity of Anaitis with their own Diana, and therefore too hastily distinguished her by that chaste name. For the temple of the Armenian Diana, being a great staple of trade, and a principal halting-place for caravans, not only the ordinary attendants on the goddess, but many other females of the first families, sold their beauty without shame to wealthy strangers, and with the accumulated wages of prostitution were enabled, many of them, in the wane of their beauty, to purchase at will either husbands or lovers. [120] CHAP. XXVII.

His victories and return into the Lesser Armenia. Olymp. clxxviii. 4. B.C. 65.

The Roman army had not long cantoned in Anaïtis, when the mountaineers in its neighbourhood were in motion. They suspected that Pompey only waited the return of spring to invade their territories in pursuit of Mithridates, whose death or captivity seemed essential, according to Roman maxims, to an honourable termination of the war. Among those fierce tenants of Caucasus, the two tribes of Iberians and Albanians were the most powerful; the former living towards the Euxine, the latter extending to the shores of the Caspian. They were both of them in friendship with Mithridates, both alike hostile to the threatening Romans, but unfortunately for the success of their arms, too jealous of each other to concert any solid plan for their common defence. The chieftain Orœses, and his Albanians, were first in the field. Pompey, apprised of their movements,

[120] Strabo, l. xi. p. 532.

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allowed them to cross the Cyrus, and then falling unexpectedly on enemies who had hoped to conquer him by surprise, defeated them with much slaughter, and drove them beyond the river. In the ensuing spring he invaded both the Albanians and the Iberians, who fighting singly, are said to have been successively subdued. Their numbers were formidable, since they sometimes mustered sixty thousand warriors, but they trusted chiefly to their missile weapons, and they were often clothed and defended with the skins of wild beasts.[121] When defeated, they found shelter in their deep woods; and the Romans, by setting fire to these lurking places, compelled various parties of both nations to surrender. But whatever may have been the extent of their submission, it is certain that Pompey, whether obstructed by the difficulties of the country, or by the obstinacy of the enemy, thought fit to return before winter into the Lesser Armenia, after a pursuit of Mithridates very unlike to that of Darius by the great Alexander.[122]

[121] Plutarch. in Pompeio. Strabo, however, says, that many parts of Iberia abounded in towns, and in lone houses, well built. It derived civilization from the neighbourhood of the industrious Colchians. But the greater part of Iberia and Albania, generally presented the same characteristics anciently, as at present. A soil highly fertile; grapes and all the finest fruits growing wild in the fields; the animal creation not less bountifully dealt with; particularly men and women, distinguished for stature and beauty. But all was the gift of nature, for the soil was little cultivated, and the inhabitants totally uneducated. Strabo's picture equally applies to the neighbouring countries of Georgia and Circassia. Strabo, l. xi. 500. & 502.

[122] Dion, Appian. Plutarch.

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Mithridates in Bosporus — Tragic death of his sons Machares and Xiphares. Olymp. clxxviii. 4. B. C. 65.

The king of Pontus, meanwhile, had fortified himself in the Chersonesus Taurica[123], anciently the seat of the little kingdom of Bosporus, with whose history my readers are not unacquainted. In the meridian of his prosperity, Mithridates had bestowed this kingdom on his son Machares, who having entered into a treasonable correspondence with the Romans, slew himself in despair[124], when he found that his father had survived the rout of Nicopolis, and was approaching Bosporus with a new army. The arrival of the king at Panticapæum, the principal city in the peninsula, proved fatal also to Xiphares, another of his sons. To this place, which stood on one side of the Cimmerian Bosporus, Xiphares accompanied his father: the mother of the young prince Stratonicé, then inhabited Phanagorea, situate on the opposite side of the strait in such a manner with regard to Panticapæum, that whatever passed at the one city might be distinctly seen from the other. In Panticapæum, Mithridates was informed that the woman in whom he reposed unlimited confidence, and to whom he had entrusted Symphorium one of his richest treasuries, had betrayed her strong-hold to Pompey, on his promise that he would spare her son Xiphares, should the chance of war ever throw that youth into his hands. The intelligence provoked the jealous king to an abominable act of refined vengeance. Xiphares was slain publicly on one

[123] The Peninsula of Crim Tartary.

[124] Appian. c. 102.

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side of the strait, while Stratonicé was compelled to behold his execution from the other.[125] In thus sacrificing an innocent son to the punishment of a guilty mother, Mithridates departed from the maxim that usually guided him, of observing a certain equitable discrimination even in his cruelties. Among those who were accomplices of Machares, the late rebellious king of Bosporus, he distinguished between such persons as he had himself recommended to that unworthy son, and those friends and ministers whom Machares had spontaneously chosen. The former he punished as traitors; the latter he freely pardoned, observing that they owed nothing to him, and had rightly obeyed their master.[126] His proceeding breathed the same spirit in the case of Attidius, a Roman exile of senatorian dignity, who, being taken into the king's confidence, basely conspired against his life. The Cappadocians concerned in this plot were subjected to lingering torture; Attidius's quality of senator procured for him the release of a speedy execution; no punishment whatever was inflicted on the freedmen belonging to this Roman, who had only abetted their patron.[127]

His measures for invading Italy with the assistance of

When Mithridates fled to the Chersonesus Taurica, he had higher objects in view than the mere safety of his person. The Romans were masters at sea; and Pompey, upon his return to

[125] Appian. c. 107. [126] Id. c. 102.
[127] Id. c. 90.

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the Scythians and Bastarnæ. Olymp. clxxix. 1. B. C. 64.

the Lesser Armenia, had ordered his admirals in the Euxine to intercept all supplies to the fugitive king, and carefully to prevent his escape. But the forces aboard the Roman ships were unequal to the conquest of the Chersonesus. Besides hordes of warlike Nomades from the confines of the Palus Mæotis, Mithridates mustered sixty well-disciplined cohorts, each cohort consisting of six hundred men. He had strongly garrisoned Panticapæum and Phanagorea, the firm fetters of the Bosporus; he had gained many Scythian chiefs, by betrothing to them his numerous daughters by Greek women, for such intermarriages the Scythians of those days still more affected than did their descendants the Turks and Tartars afterwards under the declining empire of Constantinople.[128] Even beyond the Scythians westward, Mithridates extended his alliances to the Bastarnæ, a German nation, as we have seen, though living on the right of the Vistula, through whose powerful co-operation he purposed to traverse Pannonia and Dacia, and to descend by the Rhetian Alps into Italy.[129] His plan was precisely the same with that which, a century before, had been concerted by the fourth and last Philip of Macedon, only that the intended expedition of Mithridates embraced a wider circle. Both these princes discerned the quarter on which Rome was assailable, and both

[128] Cantemir. History of the Ottoman Empire, and Knolles's History of the Turks.

[129] Dion, Appian. Florus, l. 3. c. 5.

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had prepared the same engines by which Rome was finally overwhelmed; when the king of Pontus, as formerly that of Macedon, perished in the midst of batteries which he had most ably erected.

Conspiracy formed against him.

It is a remark savouring of Machiavelism, but nevertheless strictly true, that Mithridates, cruel and suspicious as he certainly was, fell a victim to his forbearance and lenity. Stratonicé had suffered in the execution of her son Xiphares, a pang sharper than death, and survived only to avenge him. This woman was the daughter of the Greek musician Castor, and had a kinsman of that name, whom, like all her family, Mithridates had, for her sake, loaded with riches and honours.[130] Being in great authority in Phanagorea, Castor concerted a revolt with the inhabitants of that place, many of them of the same Greek descent with himself. The conspiracy broke out by the murder of Tryphon, one of the king's favourite eunuchs. The citizens flew to arms; overpowered such of the garrison as ventured to oppose them, asserted their ancient freedom as a Greek colony, and laid siege to a fortified palace, inhabited by three sons and two daughters of Mithridates. The sons had Persian names; Artapherres, Xerxes, and Axathres: the daughters were called Eupatra and Cleopatra: a distinction of names bearing reference to the mixed extraction of the kings of Pontus, who

[130] Conf. Plutarch. in Pomp. & Appian. c. 108

boasted in the male line Darius Hystaspis, and in the female, Seleucus Nicator. Four of Mithridates's children thus fell a prey to the insurgents: Cleopatra alone escaped through her own courage, and the aid of some armed vessels sent across the strait by her father.

He discovers it, and pardons his son Pharnaces.

The revolt was contagious among subjects oppressed by exactions; and whose labouring cattle had been slaughtered to afford, in their tough tendons, strings for military engines. The sedition infected Theodosia, Nymphæum, and other sea-ports of the Chersonesus: a party of 500 soldiers, who escorted the betrothed daughters of Mithridates to their Scythian lords, massacred the eunuchs who had the care of these females, and conveyed the blooming prize to a Roman squadron on the coast: and even Pharnaces, whom Mithridates had often shown to his army as the son whom he destined to wear his diadem, headed a conspiracy for shortening the life of a man in his 73d year, and still superior in his mind to the complication of assailing evils; for in addition to war and treason, Mithridates was afflicted by an ulcer in his face; he was seen by none but the eunuchs skilled in physic, who attended him, and at length healed his wound; yet in this state of seclusion and suffering, he had discovered the perfidy of his son, and had been prevailed on to pardon it.[131]

[131] Appian. c 110.

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His death and character. Olymp. clxxix. 2. B. C. 63.

This pardon served only to deepen the guilt of Pharnaces. He well knew that the corps of Roman deserters was peculiarly adverse to the expedition against Italy. They best understood the difficulties of such an enterprise; and, in case of its miscarriage, they reflected with horror on the punishments that awaited them. Pharnaces fomented their sedition: their angry spirits were infused into the contiguous division guarding the citadel of Panticapæum, where Mithridates with part of his family resided. Upon hearing the tumultuary uproar, the old man sallied forth in arms; his horse was killed under him; yet he boldly fought his way back to his strong-hold, and continued to maintain it, till finding the sedition gain ground, and receiving no answer to repeated overtures sent by him to his son, he gave poison to those around him, among whom were two marriageable daughters, Mithridatis and Nyssa, respectively betrothed to the kings of Egypt and Cyprus. He then had recourse himself to the same direful cup, imprecating the Furies (for he had adopted the religion of Homer with his poetry) against the parricidal Pharnaces. On a constitution hardened, nor withered by time, and fortified by antidotes of his own invention, the poison failed to operate. He therefore seized the dagger; and the firmness of his own hand was seconded by the kind cruelty of Bituitus, an old and faithful attendant. [132]

[132] Conf. Appian. Mithridat. c. 108—114. Dion, l. xxxvi. p. 34, 35. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cii. Oros. l. vi. c. 5.

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Thus died Mithridates, "the greatest of kings, next to Alexander."[133] In this pithy panegyric, by one of the best judges of merit, much however is to be abated. In his royal virtues only, Mithridates resembled Alexander, and even here the likeness was false or superficial; for in the course of a long life he gave no indications of those lofty yet solid undertakings, of which the Macedonian had in early youth set the example. Though conversant with Greek learning, and surrounded by companions, generals, and ministers of that nation, we see no marks of the zealous encouragement of arts and letters, which shone so conspicuously in the son of Philip; above all, his cruelty and lust and suspicion form a perpetual and dark contrast to that open frankness, that warmth of friendship, and that noble disdain for whatever is base in policy or selfish in pleasure, which made Alexander the object of an affectionate admiration to his contemporaries, that will descend, through sympathy, to the latest ages of the world.

In his reign of sixty years, Mithridates waged three wars with the Romans, which lasted collectively nearly half that period. Though neither his success in these wars, nor his judgment or enterprise in conducting them, corresponded with his bold threats and boastful preparations, yet the spirit and perseverance with which he so often renewed the contest,

[133] Cicer. Academ. l. ii. c. 1.

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procured for him many warm and animated, rather than very discriminating eulogies. He is extolled as a general whose skill in contrivance was only surpassed by his boldness in execution; who, whatever might be the malignancy of his fortune, was always pre-eminent in courage; and who, when apparently fallen beyond recovery, Antæus-like, sprung again from the earth with renewed hopes and increased vigour.[134] Yet it appears from the preceding narrative, that in his three successive wars with Rome, his exertions were ever less strenuous in the subsequent than in the preceding conflict: his mind, however, continued to the end unsubdued; and his last fell purpose of conducting an army of Scythians and Germans into Italy, throws a deep ensanguined hue around his setting sun, not unworthy of the fierce glare of his flaming meridian.

Pompey takes possession of Pontus.

Shortly after Pompey's return above-mentioned into the Lesser Armenia, he marched to reinforce his army in Pontus, that, having failed to seize the lion, he might at least make sure of his den. In occupying the strong-holds of Pontus, and reducing that country into a province, many particulars were brought to light respecting the domestic management of Mithridates, and all corresponding to the character which his public transactions have stamped on him. Of his seventy-five fortresses, several were

[134] Conf. Appian. Dion, Plutarch. Valer. Maxim. l. iv. c. 6. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 18.

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found in the custody of women, a sex which he treated alternately with all the fondness of love and all the cruelty of jealousy. One of those fortresses, Talaura, astonished the Romans by the endless variety of its precious contents; 2000 onyx goblets, tipped with golden brims; cups and cooling vessels without number; beds, couches, and other furniture, inestimable for their workmanship and materials; to which were added, housings for horses, adorned with gold and gems, and a profusion of bridles and breast-plates of suitable or still richer magnificence. Of this magazine of treasure, not less than a month was consumed in making the inventory.[135] Part of these valuable effects had descended to Mithridates from his ancestors: a considerable proportion of them had been fairly purchased by a prince ostentatiously splendid; but a third, and perhaps the largest share, had been extorted from their lawful owners by an unprincipled robber. One wealthy victim of his rapacity was Alexander II. king of Egypt, to whom, as above-mentioned, he afterwards betrothed his daughter Mithridatis. That Egyptian prince, whom we shall see presently reduced to the state of a humble suitor in the camp of Pompey, had been sent in early youth to the isle of Côs by his grandmother, Cleopatra, in the midst of her relentless wars with her son, Ptolemy Lathyrus. According to the custom of that age, the money and jewels which young

Mithridates's vast riches — how amassed by him.

[135] Appian. Mithridat. c. 115.

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Alexander inherited from his father of the same name, were deposited with him in the city Côs, capital of the island, under the security of its magistrates. The tempting prize was not to be resisted by Mithridates, who in the height of his prosperity, being master of the Greek seas, made a descent on Côs, and possessed himself of this rich deposit, which was recognised at Talaura, among the other treasures found there by Pompey. [136]

His secret papers.

Had this general been as greedy of wealth as was his father Pompeius Strabo, the capture of Talaura would have gratified his fondest wishes. But he is said to have received more delight from objects of mere curiosity seized in another fortress, called Neonphrourion, or Newcastle. These were the papers and secret correspondences of Mithridates, which afforded a genuine and odious picture of his mind; showing how many persons he had destroyed by poison, among them many near relatives, and a certain ill-fated Alcæus of Sardes, who had the presumption to contend with him in the chariot-race, and the folly to foil the king in that favourite pastime. To the boldest enormities, Mithridates, as commonly happens, added the vilest and most abject superstition. His hidden archives contained many interpretations of dreams or visions, that gave anxiety to himself or his women: they contained also the amatory epistles that passed between the king and Monima, the most favoured of his

[136] Appian. Mithridat. c. 115.

wives or concubines. The epistles of the former were penned with undisguised profligacy; and answered by the latter (whose miserable end we have above related) in the same disgustful strain.[137] Pompey, a man of morals, when not blinded by ambition, was careless of preserving such writings: but he carried with him the king's medical commentaries in Greek, and caused them to be translated into Latin, by his freed-man Lennæus.[138]

Calumnies of Theophanes, Pompey's historian.

Pompey, like almost every Roman general since the age of the Scipios, was accompanied in his expeditions by Greeks of learning and abilities, particularly Theophanes of Lesbos, his friend and historian. Theophanes gave out, that among the secret papers of Mithridates, he had discovered an old letter from a certain Rutilius, exhorting that prince to the horrid massacre, which, twenty-five years before this period, had been made of Roman citizens. Rutilius, against whom the herald of Pompey's fame urged this serious accusation, had been lieutenant to Mucius Scævola, proconsul of Asia; and in the administration of that valuable province, the zeal of Rutilius had admirably seconded the integrity and vigilance of Scævola. His protection of the long oppressed Asiatics against the griping snares of Roman knights, exercising at once the functions of financial collectors and of judges, provoked against him the whole equestrian order at Rome, and occasioned his banish-

[137] Plutarch. in Pompeio.

[138] Plin. N. H. l. xxv. c. 2.

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ment from that city, on charges of extortion, which he signally refuted, by choosing the scene of his pretended delinquency, for the place of his exile. He was received by all orders of men with the highest honours, and enriched, by the voluntary contributions of their gratitude and respect, far beyond the mediocrity of his former circumstances. When Sylla restored the legal polity of Rome, and purified the seats of justice, Rutilius's condemnation was reversed, and he was invited home to participate in those preferments, from which he had been too long excluded by most undeserved banishment. But Rutilius, cured of ambition, preferred to remain among his friends in Asia, where he had dedicated his leisure to the composition of a Roman history in the Greek tongue, whether because this language was the more general, or because, through his long residence in Pergamus, it was become the most familiar to him. In this work, he had stigmatised the avarice of Pompeius Strabo, farther to the great Pompey.[139] This freedom was not to be forgiven by Theophanes, who being no more scrupulous of truth than many others of his now degenerate countrymen, invented the absurd calumny above-mentioned; denouncing Rutilius as the promoter of a massacre, of which he had nearly been the victim[140], and traducing a man equally distinguished by humanity and probity, as prime mover in the most gigantic crime of the fell Mithridates.

[139] Plutarch. in Pompeio.

[140] Cicero pro Rabir. c. 10. Athenæus, l. v. c. 14.

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Pompey's arrangements with regard to Armenia and Cappadocia.

Before Pompey was informed of the tragical end of that prince, he had completed other important concerns entrusted to him. Having dissolved the kingdom of Pontus, he occupied all its strong-holds, excepting only the sacred city, Comana. The government of this city, with its temple and dependent district, he assigned to the Cappadocian Archelaus, son to Mithridates's unfortunate or treacherous general of that name. The father had been received into the protection of Rome; and the son, with that liberality which Rome sometimes showed to her friends, was now raised to this priestly sovereignty [141], which opened the way to him, as will be shown in due time, to a still more exalted station. Besides subduing Pontus, Pompey had completely humbled Armenia. The elder Tigranes was his vassal; the younger, his captive. The province of Sophené, which he had at first bestowed on the latter most unworthy prince, was now, together with the Lesser Armenia, divided by him between Dejotarus [142], a Gallic or Galatian chief, who had done good service to the Romans, and Ariobarzanes I. king of the Proper [143] Cappadocia, who, for his fidelity to the republic, had been repeatedly divested by Mithridates of that dependent kingdom. But old age and the experience of

[141] Appian. Mithridat. c. 64. Strabo, l. xii. p. 558.

[142] Strabo, l. xii. p. 547.

[143] Commonly called the Greater Cappadocia, in opposition to Pontus, the Lesser: but the mighty power of Pontus under Mithridates did away this distinction.

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adversity had disgusted Ariobarzanes with government. While he sat with Pompey in a curule-chair on the pretorian tribunal, he espied his son in a corner below, occupying the vacant box of a clerk. The old man descended; stripped his head of the diadem, and prepared to invest with this ornament his beloved son, the faithful companion of many past sufferings.[144] The son was for the first time undutiful in rejecting the ensign of royalty; and Pompey's powerful interference was required to make him accept the resignation in his favour.[145] Ariobarzanes II. reigned many years a submissive ally to Rome, and when Rome became divided in itself, he perished in the civil wars.

His transactions with the Parthians — meridian greatness of Rome. Olymp. clxxviii. 4 — clxxix. 1. B. C. 65—64.

This transaction happened in the Lesser Armenia, before Pompey reduced Pontus into the form of a province. From Pontus he proceeded into the Proper Syria, while his lieutenants Scaurus and Gabinius spread the terror of their arms over the wider extent of that name, even to the countries beyond the Tigris. Phrahates III. of Parthia deeply felt the disgrace, but was obliged to endure it patiently, amidst the revolt of his satraps, many of whom had assumed the title of kings[146]; the hostility which he had provoked on the side of Armenia by abetting the rebellious and now captive son of Tigranes; and the alienation of Seleucia, with many smaller Greek cities within his empire, all

[144] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxx. & Strabo, l. xx. p. 539.
[145] Valer. Maxim. l. v. c. 7. [146] Plutarch. in Anton.

of which rejoiced at commotions that might eventually lighten their heavy yoke of dependence.[147] Under these circumstances, however, Phrahates sent repeated embassies to Pompey. In the first, he interceded for the liberation from bonds of his son-in-law Tigranes, and at the same time exhorted the Romans to respect the natural boundary of the Euphrates. To these requisitions Pompey replied, that for his treatment of Tigranes the son, he would answer to the paternal[148] and paramount jurisdiction of Tigranes the father; and that the exertions of Rome would be confined within such limits as religion and justice prescribed. In a second embassy, Phrahates complained more bitterly of the invasion of his territories and the defalcation of his titles. Pompey, it seems, had addressed him simply as king, without ascribing to him the loftier pre-eminence of king of kings, assumed by his five immediate predecessors. The little satisfaction which Phrahates received on either of these heads, made him resume hostilities against Tigranes, now strictly allied with Rome, and bold in the confidence of her protection. Pompey, with great dignity, avoided to make himself a party in this eastern warfare, and was contented with sending arbitrators to

[147] Appian. Lib. de Parth.

[148] The "patria potestas" was as exorbitant among the Persians as among the Romans. Aristot. Ethic. ad Nicom. l. viii. c. 10. The Parthians, who may be regarded as renewing the Persian empire in the countries beyond the Euphrates, could not fail therefore to feel the force of this argument.

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adjust the quarrel. His mediation was accepted, or rather his authority was acknowledged by both kings[149]; a transaction which marks the meridian greatness of Rome, since to any further predominancy in the East, that power never aspired with impunity.

Unhappy state of Syria. Olymp. clxxviii. 4. B.C. 65.

While the negociation, which concluded thus honourably, was carrying on with Parthia, Pompey had been employed in settling definitively the affairs of Syria. The disorders occasioned there, through the vices and follies of the last branches of the Seleucidæ, had been aggravated by the long tyranny of the Armenians; and after Lucullus expelled those invaders, renewed and perpetuated through the unfortunate mutiny in the army of that general, who, though he had reinstated Antiochus Asiaticus on the throne of Antioch, was prevented from putting him in possession of any considerable portion of territory. The finest districts in Syria fell a prey to Jews and Arabs: a petty tyrant, Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus[150], established himself at Chalcis, the fair capital of Chalcidicé; usurpers equally unworthy, reigned in other cities, with the pride and power of hereditary kings. While these upstarts trembled to hear their doom from the award of Pompey, a better hope was entertained by Antiochus, their common enemy, who came to him with complaints of their depredations. There came

[149] Plutarch. in Pompeio.

[150] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13.

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also Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, sons to Alexander Jannæus, late king of the Jews, of whom Hyrcanus the elder, a prince of a feeble character, had been supplanted in his birthright by the turbulent ambition of his younger brother.

Alexander II. of Egypt, deposed, and succeeded by Ptolemy Auletes.

The list of royal petitioners was farther increased by Alexander II. the furious tyrant of Egypt, who, after a reign of fifteen years, marked only by insurrections among his subjects, had been finally precipitated from his throne by the rage of the Alexandrians; and his expulsion speedily followed by the inauguration of his cousin-german, the bastard of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and himself named Ptolemy Auletes, from his proficiency in playing the flute, and more deeply disgraced by the appellation of Dionysus Neos, branding his disgusting ostentation of effeminacy and profligacy.[151]

Harsh dismission of Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus.

Pompey, for reasons that will appear hereafter, rejected the petition of the dispossessed king of Egypt. In settling the affairs of Syria, he more sadly disappointed the hopes of Antiochus Asiaticus. At the solicitation of a party among the Syrians themselves, Tigranes of Armenia had reigned over them fourteen years.[152] As the conqueror of Tigranes, Pompey, while he left that prince in possession of his hereditary kingdom, laid claim to all his usurpations on the house of Seleucus; to the representative of which house, he had not any intention to restore

[151] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796. Conf. Lucian. de non temere credendo calumniæ.

[152] See above.

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them; though Antiochus Asiaticus, now soliciting his favour, was guiltless of any offence towards himself or his country. But the intended re-establishment of this Syrian king by Lucullus, appeared, to the jealousy of Pompey, an odious stain in his title. He therefore dismissed the royal suppliant with the following harsh answer, pronounced from his pretorian tribunal: "That if the Syrians, instead of rejecting, as they had done, the authority of Greek kings, still wished to live under them, he could not, however, consign that nation to the unworthiness of a prince, who, during the many years that invaders were masters of his country, meanly skulked in an obscure corner of Cilicia; that there would be neither justice nor good policy in setting him over a people whom he had formerly abandoned in a cowardly manner to the Armenians, and whom, were he declared king, he would now tamely resign to the depredations of Jews and Arabs." [153]

Syria reduced into a province. Olymp. clxxix. 1. B. C. 64.

After this transaction, Pompey made the necessary arrangements for reducing Syria into a province. He began that work by rooting out the little tyrants from the strong-holds or cities which they had usurped. Ptolemy Mennæus alone, enriched beyond most others by his robberies, purchased his unmolested jurisdiction in Chalcis at the price of 1000 talents. Pompey next determined upon an expedition against the Nabathæan Arabs, whose incursions were often

[153] Justin, l. xl. c. 2.

formidable on the side of Syria, and who at one time, had possessed themselves of Damascus. But Aretas, the king as he is called, of those Nomades, sent his submissions and presents, before the legions reached Petra, a strong-hold whose peculiarities were early commemorated in the present history. From the arrangements, subjecting Syria to Roman proconsuls, uniting civil jurisdiction with military command, Pompey made exceptions in favour of Antioch and its sea-port Seleucia, which were declared free cities. The same title, more pleasing in sound than profitable in effect, was granted, or rather perpetuated to Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, and other emporia on the coast, which, amidst the civil wars of the Seleucidæ, had often asserted their independence. A Syrian styled Antiochus I. was named king of Commagene [154], and permitted to hold, under an annual tribute, that vassal princedom, confined to a narrow but fertile valley between Mount Amanus and the Euphrates. His family was the last branch of the Seleucidæ; and their capital Samosata, the birth-place of Lucian, in that ingenious satirist and elegant writer [155], emitted the last sparks of Grecian genius. Immediately to the south of Commagene, but on the opposite side of the river, the district Osrhoëne, in the decline of the Syrian monarchy, had been occupied by Arabs. In Augarus, the chief of that district, Pompey found at once a zealous ally and a skilful courtier.

[154] Joseph. de Bell. Judaic.

[155] Photius. Cod. 128.

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The flatteries of Augarus procured for him many favours; but his hollow professions of friendship to the Romans concealed deep enmity; and his unsuspected perfidy enabled him, as we shall see in due time, to inflict on that people one of the severest wounds ever suffered by their commonwealth. [156]

Civil war in Palæstine.

These various arrangements were made peaceably; but the competition between the Jewish brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, was not so easily adjusted. As Tigranes king of Armenia had never carried his arms into Judæa, Pompey could not allege the pretence just employed by him with regard to the rest of Syria, for annexing that important southern district to his new province. But, to the Roman eye, experienced in usurpation, an opening was quickly discerned for an authoritative interference. To this end, the interests of Hyrcanus, a prince of a weak character and pacific temper, were to be supported against the ambitious turbulence of his younger brother Aristobulus. The latter prince, perceiving in his judge the angry disposition of an accuser, abruptly quitted Pompey at Damascus, and hastened to the defence of his country, the dominion of which, though the Romans considered him as usurping it against the rights of an elder brother, he regarded himself as holding justly by the fair predilection of the Jews, founded on the incapacity of Hyrcanus for government. [157]

[156] Dion Cassius, l. xl. p. 139.

[157] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 5. & de Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

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Aristobulus's sudden flight happened before the humble submission of Aretas, chief of the Nabathæan Arabs; upon which agreeable event, Pompey returned into Cœle-Syria, and hastened to invade Judæa. Naturally of an inconstant character, and now tossed between hope and fear, Aristobulus repeatedly put himself in the invader's hands, but as often escaped to one or other of his strong-holds; and finally to Jerusalem the capital. The Romans advanced within twenty miles of this city, and were forming an encampment near Jericho, when their labours were suspended by the sight of horsemen approaching them with great speed, their spears entwined with laurels. These were messengers from Pontus, bringing the first accounts to Pompey of the death of Mithridates. Eager to learn the good news from the mouth of their general, the soldiers, instead of waiting to raise, after the usual manner, a tribunal composed solidly of earth, piled hastily their pack-saddles and baggage into a suggestum or pulpit, from whence Pompey announced to them the tragic end of their once formidable adversary. According to Roman maxims, the destruction of Mithridates seemed essential to the conclusion of the war. The certainty of this event diffused general joy: the whole remainder of the day was spent in congratulation and festivity; and next morning had far advanced, before part of the legions resumed their march towards Jerusalem.[158]

The Romans on their way to Jerusalem apprised of Mithridates's death.

[158] Plutarch. in Pomp. Conf. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 6.

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Jerusalem taken by Pompey. Olymp. clxxix. 2. B. C. 63.

Upon their near approach to that city, Aristobulus was again thrown into his agony of irresolution. At one moment he determined to mount his walls, but in the next he issued forth, with ensigns of peace, to implore the invader's clemency. Pompey heard from him with complacence the promise that his gates should be opened and his treasures surrendered, but detained him watchfully with himself, while he sent forward Gabinius, his lieutenant, to take possession of Jerusalem. Instead of open gates and submissive presents, that general was received with defiance hurled on him from the battlements. In consequence of this outrage, Aristobulus was condemned to fetters, and Pompey made haste to assault Jerusalem. Through the assistance of Hyrcanus's partizans in the place, he easily made himself master of the lower city, but the adherents to Aristobulus, including the priests and principal inhabitants, made an obstinate defence from the mountain of the temple. Pompey was obliged to order battering engines from Tyre. In consequence of this delay, and the strenuous perseverance of the besieged in repairing their shattered walls, the Jews resisted to the third month, and might have held out still longer, had they deemed it allowable to interrupt the enemy's approaches on the sabbath day. Upon a memorable occasion before mentioned, they had decreed that it was lawful, on that sacred day, to defend their lives; but the rigid spirit of their worship would not permit them to assume any farther latitude, not

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even to anticipate, on the sabbath, and counteract those operations by which their lives might eventually be endangered. Their defence was fierce and obstinate, but Cornelius Faustus pushed them with an intrepidity worthy of his father Sylla, and first entered by the breach. Many thousand Jews were martyrs to this manly resistance, including the most venerable priests, who, during the assault of the temple, ceased not to perform their daily rites, careless of mingling their own blood with that of their sacrifices. [159]

His proceedings in Jerusalem.

Their heroic composure is said to have excited the admiration of Pompey. That sentiment, however, did not hinder him from demolishing utterly the defences of Jerusalem. By the authority of his pretorian tribunal, the Jews were also divested of all conquests made under their Asmonæan princes; and Hyrcanus himself, in whose cause Pompey affected such deep concern, was stripped of his royal diadem [160], that, being reduced solely to his functions of high priest, he might be ingloriously confounded with other princely hierarchs, tributary dependants on Rome. Not contented with inflicting these severities, Pompey wounded the Jews still more deeply, with no other view than the gratification of his own unwarrantable curiosity, intruding himself [161] in spite of their humblest supplications, not only into the Holy Place, but even

159 Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c 8.
160 Id. ibid.
161 Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 8. & de Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

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into the Holy of Holies, from admission into which all men were at all times debarred, except the high priest only, once in the year, upon the solemn day of the great annual expiation.

Cicero's account of them.

The capture of Jerusalem happened towards midsummer, in the same year that Cicero, being consul, defeated the Catalinarian conspiracy. Three years afterwards, that illustrious orator speaks of Pompey's proceedings in Jerusalem, in the well-known pleading for Flaccus, who, in exercising the office of pretor during Cicero's consulate, had strenuously co-operated with him in saving the republic. Upon the expiration of his pretorship, Flaccus was chosen to govern the kingdom of Pergamus, long sunk into the Roman province of Asia; and was recalled from his administration in little more than a year afterwards, about the time of the secret formation of the first triumvirate. At that unfortunate period, when good citizens were liable to persecution merely for attachment to the constitutional rights of their country, Flaccus was arraigned for malversation in office. Among other iniquities charged on him, he was accused of seizing, in various parts of his jurisdiction, large sums of money belonging to Jews, and by them kept in readiness for transmission to their sacred treasury in the temple of Jerusalem. The odium of this fact, the accuser endeavoured to aggravate by the very opposite behaviour of Pompey, who, though he had discovered 2000 talents in the temple, most religiously respected this deposit in the moment of a bloody triumph

over the obstinate fury of its owners. The numerous partisans of Pompey re-echoed the accusation and magnified the contrast, that they might do honour to their munificent patron, recently associated in power with Cæsar and Crassus, but whom they would have gladly seen sole master of the republic.

Cicero, in answering them, showed that, in Italy, the exportation of coin had often been prohibited, and particularly in his own consulate. "Flaccus," he said, "had wisely complied with the spirit of this prohibitory law, especially, as by sending to Rome the gold destined for Jerusalem, he resisted and weakened the cause of a barbarous superstition. Pompey indeed acted otherwise; and wisely, since he thereby escaped the reproaches of a suspicious and calumnious nation; for I shall never believe that any regard for the religion of Jews and enemies was the motive of his forbearance. All states have their religion; we Romans have our's: while Jerusalem flourished, and before its inhabitants broke peace with Rome, the sacred rites of that people were deemed inconsistent with the institutions of our ancestors, the gravity of the Roman name, and the majesty of the Roman empire. Far more, assuredly, ought this to be our judgment now, when the Jews, by taking arms, have shown their hostile disposition towards us, and when their defeat and shameful subjection has proved how hostile the gods are to them." [162]

[162] Oratio pro L. Flacco, c. 28.

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Reflections thereon.

These observations were made in the capital of the world, and by the man of finest genius in it, little more than half a century before the promulgation of the gospel. They are entitled to regard from the place, the time, above all, from the characteristic sagacity ascribed to Cicero, who, according to a contemporary author, who well knew and long survived him, was endowed with a foresight bordering on divination; enabling him to predict many great events that happened during his own lifetime, and even to warn the succeeding age of things actually passing at the moment when the biographer wrote.[163] Yet, clear-sighted as Cicero was, with respect to the political vicissitudes of the world, his mind was unprepared for anticipating a revolution in religious worship, infinitely more important; for, with all his unwearied diligence and boundless curiosity, he had neglected a wonderful record, which having been long accessible in Greek, was fully within his reach. A studious perusal of the Old Testament might have enabled him to discern, in the formality of shadowy rites, the substance of true piety; in lowly and familiar signs, important and lofty significations; a religion rational in itself, and of which the progress was destined to be totally the reverse of all those truly barbarous superstitions with which he confounded it. This important truth, the preceding history evinces. Among the various

[163] Cornel. Nep. in Vit. Attici, c. 17.

forms of paganism that have passed in review before us, many perished irrevocably, leaving no vestige behind. The mythology of the Greeks, though of a firmer as well as finer texture, shows most graceful in Homer, the first writer by whom it is described. In the compositions of subsequent poets, and still more in the narratives of historians representing its real and ordinary effects on life and manners, it is less alluring and less comely; and with farther advancement in years, it continually declined in utility and beauty, until, in the last stage, its ugliness and perniciousness excite a mixed sensation of abhorrence and disgust. The same remark applies to the ritual of Rome, most respectable in the age of Numa, by whom it was established [164]: and were we to examine in detail the variations in other institutes of false worship, we should find universally, that, instead of mellowing and improving with time, they perpetually, as years rolled on, became more abominable in their rites, and more destructive in their tendency. When all these deformed fabrics, and even the nations which reared them, have totally disappeared from the world, the Jews notoriously subsist, because precisely in that vagabond and abject state, which their own prophets, thousands of years ago, denounced as their punishment. For, from the temple of Jerusalem, whose top was fixed in heaven! a second and purer worship was destined in due

[164] See above, vol. ii. p. 361. et seq.

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time to flow, which, while rejected by those who grovelled about the roots of the sacred city, gradually diffused itself far beyond the limits of the Roman, or even the Macedonian, empire in the east; and communicated its benignant influence to a new western world, of whose possible discovery, Cicero had not any clearer foresight[165], than of the Christian revelation.

[165] Socrates, however, entertained such an anticipation: the best use of his superior understanding taught this Grecian sage to expect a messenger of truth, from God himself, to ignorant and miserable men. Plat. Alcibiad. ii.

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Pompey's public Services. — Cæsar returns from Spain. — The Triumvirate. — Transactions in Cyprus and Egypt. — Cæsar's Wars in Gaul, Germany, and Britain. — State of the Eastern Kingdoms. — Crassus's Expedition against the Parthians. — Their burlesque Triumph in Seleucia Babylonia. — Last Years of Ptolemy Auletes. — Accession of Cleopatra. — War between Cæsar and Pompey. — Murder of the latter. — War of Alexandria.

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Pompey returns to Rome. Olymp. clxxix. 3. B. C. 62.

SHORTLY after the death of Mithridates, Pompey having secured his conquests by proper garrisons, returned with the greater part of his army into Italy. He often retarded his slow progress along the coasts and islands of Greece, to hear the sweet voice of praise, and to witness the solemn celebration of his victories. The Athenians repaid his generosity by unbounded flattery. He made a long visit to Lesbos, in company with his friend and historian Theophanes[1]; and declared Mytylené, the birthplace of that writer, a free city. The same favour he had bestowed on Gadara in Syria, at the request of his freed-man, Demetrius.[2] To Rhodes, he was attracted by the renown of Posi-

[1] See above, c. xxvii. & Strabo, l. xiii. p. 617.
[2] Plutarch. in Pompeio.

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donius, a man of universal knowledge[3]; who in the construction of an orrery or sphere had rivalled the science of Archimedes[4]; who had continued, with increase to his fame, the general history of Polybius[5]; and whose name, in speculative philosophy, has been placed in competition with that of Aristotle.[6] Pompey chiefly valued him as a master in the art of life, an experienced teacher of practical wisdom; and to testify the most public respect to this great moralist, then acknowledged as prince of the Stoics, caused his imperial fasces to be lowered as he approached the gate of Posidonius.[7] In the whole of his progress, he showed the attention of a liberal mind to eminent characters and to elegant monuments. The theatre of Mytylené much pleased him, both in its outward form and the inward configuration of its parts. He carried away with him a model of this building, that he might erect at Rome a theatre similar to it, only on a larger scale.[8]

High sense entertained of his public services — their magnitude.

Having disbanded his army at Brundusium, he now approached the capital with a modest retinue, but with a degree of consideration and honour, which, in a country still enjoying the forms of freedom, exalted him above kings. His soldiers were dismissed with an injunction that

[3] Ανηρ πολυμαθεστατος. Strabo, l. xvii.

[4] See above, vol. iii. p. 95. note, & Cicero de Natura Deorum. l. ii. c. 34, 35.

[5] Suidas & Lucian in Macrob.

[6] He is considered by many as author of the celebrated treatise de Mundo. Meursius in Rhodo, p. 105.

[7] Plin. N. H. l. vii. c. 30.

[8] Plutarch. ibid.

they should return to him, when summoned, to celebrate his triumph.[9] Before this transaction, he had sent forward Papius Piso, one of his lieutenants, with a recommendation for the consulate, and a letter to the senate, requesting the election to be deferred until he should himself appear in person, to solicit the votes of the comitia for his friend. The delay was judged unnecessary. Piso became consul with universal consent.[10] This proceeding, highly irregular in itself, was justified by the glory of Pompey. The kingdom of Pergamus, formerly the extremity of the Roman empire, had, by the conquests of this general, become its centre: he had brought seven hundred war-gallies of the enemy into harbour: he had augmented provincial contributions from 8000 to 21,000 talents[11]: he had enriched the Roman treasury by the sum of 20,000 talents: and had distributed among his troops 16,000 talents, each legionary soldier sharing to the value of fifty pounds sterling.[12]

Pompey's opponents in the senate.

With such merits, had he been inclined, instead of enjoying the most splendid triumph ever exhibited at Rome, to make himself absolute master of that city, the arms, as well as voices of the multitude, would have seconded his am-

[9] Velleius Paterc. l. ii. c. 40. Appian. de Reb. Syriac.

[10] Plutarch. in Pomp. & Caton.

[11] According to Plutarch from 50 millions of drachmas to 130 millions: the latter sum is equivalent to 4,362,000*l.*

[12] See the proud titles of his triumph. Plin. l. vii. c. 26. Conf. Plutarch. in Pomp.

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bition. But Pompey, as yet, entertained not any such unprincipled purpose; he wished to carry the favourable sentiments of all ranks along with him, and to enjoy the good will, not less of the senate than of the people. In that once august council, Lucullus, with his numerous partisans, opposed him from resentment; Crassus, with other ambitious chiefs, from interference of views and interests; and Cato, Catulus, with men of that honourable stamp, from real principles of patriotism; indignant at seeing the advantages and honours which were the patrimony of the Roman people, subjected to the will of any individual, however illustrious. [13]

Julius Cæsar returns from his province in Spain. Olymp. clxxx. 1. B. C. 60.

The year preceding Pompey's triumph, Julius Cæsar, who, in every unconstitutional claim, had hitherto been his abettor, obtained, after a most popular pretorship, his first province in the Farther Spain. His largesses and exhibitions during his magistracy had cost him large sums; his profligacy and bribery had been still more expensive. At departing for his government, he acknowledged that he owed a hundred millions Roman money [14]; but the interposition of the wealthy Crassus procured him a respite from his creditors; and in the space of two years he returned from Lusitania and Bætica, countries then abounding in the precious metals, with the means of supplying his own wants, after he had fully gratified the expectations of his army.

[13] Plutarch. in Caton.

[14] A million of sesterces being equivalent to 8072*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, Cæsar owed 807,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

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Upon the conclusion of the second Punic war, both Spains had been formed into provinces, and forty years before Cæsar's pretorship, Dolabella had triumphed over revolted Lusitania. But Cæsar was skilful in finding new rebels to chastise, and new cities to plunder. In his predatory expedition he traversed mount Herminius, on the now dreary frontiers of Spain and Portugal; he traced from its source the river Durius or Douro; he explored the Portus Brigantinus, the modern Coruna in Gallicia: in fine, the whole western coast of the peninsula was subdued by his arms. [15]

He reconciles Pompey and Crassus—the triumvirate. Olymp. clxxx. 1. B. C. 60.

At his return to Rome, he found much animosity subsisting between Pompey and Crassus, both of them his friends; and who, ten years before this period, when colleagues in the consulate, had acted as friends with each other, and heartily co-operated in destroying the arrangements of Sylla, and overturning the balance of the commonwealth. Cæsar's first undertaking was to reconcile these powerful individuals; the former in all the bloom of his eastern triumphs, the latter of great weight in the state by his immense opulence, his indefatigable industry, his bold and crafty ambition. A secret compact was entered into among all three, for affording mutual assistance, and jointly opposing every measure that might be displeasing to any one of the associates. [16] They all, in fact, stood in need

[15] Dion Cassius, l. xxxvii. p. 53. et seq.

[16] Conf. Dion, l. xxxvii. p. 54. et seq. Velleius Patere. l. ii. c. 44. & Plutarch. in Pomp. Cæsar & Crass.

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of each other. Even Pompey, whose pre-eminence was most conspicuous, had not as yet obtained the confirmation of his late acts and arrangements: this had been attempted in vain by Afranius, his creature, the consul of the present year. But Cæsar, succeeding to Afranius in the consulate, procured this important object for Pompey, at the same time that, by the united power of the triumvirate, he acquired for himself the government of both Gauls, with the command of four legions, during the term of five years. In conferring this appointment, not less unconstitutional than that which Pompey had formerly held in the East, and far more dangerous, on account of the contiguity of Cisalpine Gaul to Italy, the servility of the senate outran even that of the people; Cato indignantly observing, that the senators had chosen to themselves a king, and placed him with guards in their citadel. [17]

Pompey's acts confirmed, and Cæsar invested with command in both Gauls.

Notwithstanding the opposition of a few honest men, affairs abroad, as well as at home, were entirely governed by the junto. This remarkably appears in the transactions with the Greek kingdoms, of which, after the reduction of Syria into a province, there remained only Cyprus and Egypt. Of these two kingdoms, the former had long been an appendage to the latter. They were actually governed, however, by two different Ptolemies, both of them natural sons to Ptolemy Lathyrus. [18]

Triumvirs —their transactions with the Greek kingdoms —I. Egypt. Olymp. clxxx. 2. B. C. 59.

[17] Plutarch. in Pomp. Cæsar & Crassus.

[18] Pausanias Attic. Trogus in Prolog. xl.

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The king of Cyprus had reigned in that island from the year of his father's death; his brother, surnamed Auletes "The Piper[19]," mounted the throne of Egypt seventeen years afterwards, in consequence of the deprivation and expulsion of the tyrant Alexander II. We have seen this Alexander in the Roman camp in Syria[20], soliciting Pompey's assistance against his rebellious subjects. His request was rejected. Pompey's commission did not extend to Egypt; he was satiated with the conquest of kingdoms; and the gratitude of Alexander when restored, could not be more profitable than the terrors of Auletes, a prince in possession. The deprived king fixed his residence in Tyre, and died shortly afterwards in that city, constituting, through hatred to his kindred and country, and notwithstanding his repulse by Pompey, the Roman people for his heirs.[21] In consequence of this testament, the triumvirs, in the consulate of Cæsar, received six thousand talents[22] from Auletes, to secure him in the possession of a kingdom, in which, unchallenged by the Romans, he had already reigned six years.

II. Cyprus. The king deposed, and his treasures

This disgraceful occurrence was the prelude to transactions still more unwarrantable with regard to Cyprus. The Romans, after they had

[19] He degraded himself by contending in that character in the public shows. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796.

[20] See above, c. xxvii. [21] Cicero. cont. Rull. Orat. ii.

[22] Sueton. in Jul. Cæsar, c. 54. The money, he says, was for Pompey and Cæsar. Crassus must have had his compensation in some other way.

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brought to Rome. Olymp. clxxx. 3. B. C. 58.

relinquished all claim to Egypt, by declaring Ptolemy Auletes their ally, determined, in virtue of Alexander's testament, to possess themselves of Cyprus, which had never belonged to that prince. The ostensible agent in this business was the profligate Clodius, now tribune, whom we have before seen acting the part of a mutineer in Lucullus's army, and the principal instrument through which Pompey had supplanted that meritorious general. Clodius's resentment against Cyprus was stimulated, it seems, by an old grudge, for the Cyprian king had refused to ransom him from pirates, or rather had supplied him with so paltry a sum, that those tyrants of the seas, then in the zenith of their prosperity, disdained to accept of it, and preferred gratuitously to release him.[23] Clodius had just banished Cicero, who, by opposing, when too late, the views of the triumvirs, had provoked their animosity, and fatally experienced, in Pompey, the hollowness of political friendship.[24] In the execution of the design on Cyprus, Clodius contrived to remove from Rome a senator still more obnoxious than Cicero to those in power. The austere virtue of Cato was employed by the senate and people in the ignominious office of depriving Ptolemy of his kingdom.[25] To comply with the will of his

[23] Dio. & Appian.

[24] Cicero ad Atticum. l. x. c. 4.

[25] Cicero calls it a robbery, Cum in Ptolemæi regnum, bona, fortunas latrocinium hujus imperii immisisses, cujus cum patre, avo, majoribus, societas nobis et amicitia fuisset. Orat. pro Domo sua, c. 8.

country, how much soever at variance with his own, should seem to have been regarded by Cato as a matter of indispensable duty. He, accordingly, sailed towards Rhodes, and from that island exhorted Ptolemy by letter to descend from his throne, promising to leave him in quiet enjoyment of the rich hereditary priesthood of Paphos.[26] Upon receiving this mandate, for thus any intimation from a Roman officer was considered, the king, who was master of vast hoards extorted by rapacity, and treasured up with the most anxious parsimony, embarked with them on ship-board, and immediately set sail, with the desperate resolution of burying in the sea his riches and himself.[27] But the sight, it is said, of his beloved gold, not any regard for a life so wretched as his, diverted him from this frantic purpose: he returned on shore, replaced his coffers in their former repositories, and then drank poison.[28] Cato, arriving soon after at Cyprus, seized the spoils of this most contemptible prince, as he is represented by the Roman historians, and carried home into the public treasury the value of a million and a half sterling.[29]

Ptolemy Auletes expelled by his subjects — long soli-

While at Rhodes, in his way to Cyprus, Cato had an extraordinary interview with Ptolemy Auletes. By cruel exactions from the Egyptians to bribe Pompey and Cæsar, this prince, having

[26] Plutarch. in Caton. Uticens.
[27] Valerius Maximus, l. ix. c. 4.
[28] Dion Cassius, l. xxxix. p. 101. & Strabo, l. xix. p. 684.
[29] Florus, l. iv. c. 3. Plutarch. in Caton.

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at length provoked an insurrection, had been compelled to fly the kingdom.[30] He communicated his unhappy circumstances to Cato, and told him that he was on his way into Italy, to solicit assistance from the senate. Cato, instead of tendering to him his good offices towards this design, very strongly dissuaded him from persevering in it; and with an indignant allusion to the commission with which he was himself invested, assured him that all the treasures of Egypt could not assuage the avidity of Rome. He therefore exhorted him to negociate the best terms possible with his subjects, since the foreign aid to which he looked, was never likely to be afforded.[31] The king, however, continued his voyage into Italy, established his residence in Rome, and in the course of a twelvemonth, having exhausted his fortunes and his credit in order to obtain patronage, was still further than ever from success. At length a Sibylline oracle was produced, forbidding the restoration of any king of Egypt by a Roman army.[32] While that country, whoever bore in it a pageant royalty, continued a source of emolument to powerful individuals, it was in little danger of being invaded and conquered by the legions.

Cits assistance at Rome. Olymp. clxxx. 3. B. C. 58.

Upon the expulsion of Auletes, his daughter, Berenicé, had been raised by the Alexandrians to the vacant throne. With the advice of her

Restored by arms to his kingdom.

[30] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. civ.

[31] Plutarch. in Caton. Uticens.

[32] Dion. l. xxxix. p. 98.

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council, Berenicé called into Egypt, to share her bed and government [33], the last survivor of the Seleucidæ, who was nearly allied to the royal Ptolemæan line, by his mother Sélené, daughter of Ptolemy Physcon. The husband, thus chosen by the queen of Egypt, is known in history only by the name of Seleucus Cybiosactes, that is, Seleucus the higgler. With this appellation of contempt, he was quickly branded by the Alexandrians, by whom, among other vile and sordid acts, he was accused of purloining [34] a golden shrine, peculiarly revered by them, inclosing the remains of the great founder of their city. Resentment, mixed with disgust, precipitated the ruin of Cybiosactes; and Berenicé chose for the new partner of her throne Archelaus [35] the Cappadocian, whom Pompey, as before mentioned, had invested with the hereditary priesthood of Comana in Pontus. Archelaus was a man of spirit and abilities, and as such by no means a fit person to become, under the name of king, a mere collector of revenues for the rapacious triumvirs. Auletes, accordingly, made good his cause with Pompey and Crassus, now consuls, and was sent by the former with a recommendation to Gabinius, governor of Syria, formerly Pompey's lieutenant, and always his devoted partisan, that, with the aid of this proconsul, the exiled prince

Olymp. clxxxi. 2. B. C. 55.

[33] Porphyr. in Græc. Eusebian. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796. The elder brother Antiochus Asiaticus, of whom we have above spoken, had died obscurely before this period. Porphyr. ibid.

[34] Strabo, ubi supra.

[35] Strabo, l. xii. p. 558.

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might be reinstated in his kingdom.[36] In obedience to this command, Gabinius dispatched his master of horse, Mark Antony to surprised Pelusium; and having gained that entrance into Egypt, marched thither in the heart of winter, when the Nile, being in its lowest state, opposed least difficulty to his arms. Archelaus perished at the head of his guards, fighting bravely before the walls of Alexandria. The kingdom returned to its allegiance, or rather submitted to the invaders; for after Berenicé had paid the forfeit of her short lived usurpation[37], Gabinius left with Auletes a large body of horse and foot, to protect his person, overawe his subjects, and especially to abet his merciless extortions (not less than 10,000 talents) due to his Roman creditors, or still more imperiously exacted by his Roman patrons.[38] Auletes we shall see, reigned four years after his restoration.

Cæsar's wars in Gaul — state of that country. Olymp. clxxx. 3— clxxxii. 3. B. C. 58— 50.

While the consuls Pompey and Crassus were all-powerful at Rome, Cæsar, their associate in the triumvirate, was in the midst of his Gallic wars, which lasted eight campaigns, and are described by himself with such precision and perspicuity as supersedes every attempt either to illustrate or abridge them. As protector of the Greek colony of Marseilles, the senate had occasionally interfered in the affairs of Transalpine Gaul, and above half a century before

[36] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cv. & Plutarch. in Antonio.

[37] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796.

[38] Dion Cassius, l. xxxix. Conf. Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iii. & Plutarch. in Anton.

Cæsar's invasion, had planted Roman colonies in Aquæ Sextiæ[39], now Aix, and Narbo[40], or Narbonne. On either side of these cities, the conquests of Rome, intermixed with those of her Massilian allies, extended between the gulph of Genoa and the bay of Biscay, over Provence, Languedoc, and Gascony. Commanding the whole sea-coast, the Italian colonists, however, were confined on the north by the Cevennes and other mountains, whose inhabitants, men of fierce manners and predatory habits, were always ready to pour down and alarm the security of the province. The Romans frequently passed the mountains, chastised the hostility of some tribes, and contracted alliances with others, the peculiar circumstances of Gaul affording equal advantages to their arms and negociations: for, though the whole country was divided among the Celts, Belgians, and Aquitanians, yet each of these nations was split into many cantons or communities, of which Cæsar enumerates about four hundred. Factions, besides, prevailed in each canton, governed by proud nobles and crafty priests, naturally jealous of each other, and both orders a prey to internal discord.[41] The warlike youths abetted their respective leaders in every unwarrantable pretension; soldiers alone, among whom there were many horsemen and archers, enjoyed the rights of citizens; the husbandmen and other working classes were treated as slaves;

[39] Tit. Liv. l. lxi. c. 3. [40] Id. l. lxii. c. 7.
[41] Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. xii. c. 6. et seq.

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and every master of a family exercised an unlimited jurisdiction over his women and children. The three general divisions of Celts, Belgians, and Aquitanians are said to have differed in many particulars from each other. These differences, however, are not explained; except that the Belgæ, as living nearer to the Germans, were fiercer in war, and ruder in the arts of peace than the Celts and Aquitanians, who derived some measure of improvement from commerce with the Greek and Roman colonies on the sea coast, but also imported from them many luxuries deemed pernicious to their morals and manhood.[42] From such circumstances, the Gauls described by Cæsar should seem less enterprising or ferocious than those who, two centuries before, invaded the Macedonian empire; though the nation remained nearly the same in point of civil institutions and arts, and continued to make use of the same weapons and military tactics. From the account formerly given of them with regard to these latter particulars[43], it is evident, that however numerous (and they are said to have sometimes brought above 200,000 men into the field), they were totally unfit to contend in pitched battles with the Romans. From their practice in mining, for they had great iron works in their country[44], they sometimes ably counteracted the invaders in defending their cities. Their walls or mounds,

[42] Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. i. c. 1.

[43] See above, vol. ii. p. 243., &c.

[44] Cæsar, l. vii. c. 22.

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consisting of well compacted frames of wood, filled inside with earth, and faced with alternate layers of stone, were well contrived both against the application of fire and the assault of battering engines.[45] But none of these expedients availed them against Cæsar, who made war not merely with the sword and pilum, but with the rule and hatchet, the plummet and pick-axe, and whose indefatigable legions were as strenuous in execution, as their general was fruitful in contrivance. In the course of four campaigns, at the head of about 38,000 Romans, with due proportions of Gauls, converted from enemies into auxiliaries, he pervaded and reduced to submission the whole country; twice crossed the channel into Britain, on which he imposed a tribute; and twice passed the Rhine, on bridges of wood, to chastise the incursions of the Germans.[46]

Of Germany.

Of the eastern Germans we have before spoken: those towards the Rhine lived chiefly by hunting and pasturage, though they were not ignorant of tillage, nor disdained to cultivate inviting spots scattered at wide intervals over their rude country. They were men of lofty stature and fierce habits, imperfectly clothed with skins. They are said to have rejected wine and all other luxuries, as tending to enervate their courage, so that traders came among them rather to purchase their slaves and other booty, than to supply them with articles of elegance or

[45] Cæsar, l. vii. c. 23.

[46] Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. i.—iv.

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conveniency, of which those haughty barbarians disdained the use.[47] They subsisted in clans under headmen or chiefs, who often united in temporary associations for war, alike formidable by their numbers and their prowess to the nations whom they invaded. In point of weapons and tactics they agreed with the Gauls: their horses were smaller and more hardy; and disciplined, it is said, into such obedience, that when their riders dismounted to buckle more closely with the enemy, the horses patiently waited their return.[48] In the country extending from the Rhine to the Elbe, the most powerful military association was that of the Suevi, with whose valour their feebler neighbours declared that even the immortal gods were unable to contend.[49]

And Britain.

With regard to Britain, Cæsar was contented with marks of submission from a small part of the eastern coast. He could obtain no information from the Gallic merchants concerning the interior of the island. He might have been more fortunate in his enquiries among the Druids, who repaired thither for the sake of instruction, and sent their children to be educated in Britain, which they regarded as the cradle of their religion and learning.[50] Cæsar's views of ambition made it necessary for him to prolong the war in Gaul, and plausible pretences for delay occurred in the insurrections

[47] De Bell. Gallic. l. vi. c. 21. et seq.
[48] Ibid. l. iv. c. 2.
[49] Ibid. c. 7.
[50] Id. l. vi. c. 13.

which his extortions excited, and which he coolly ascribes to the fickle temper of barbarians. [51]

Provinces assigned to Pompey and Crassus. Olymp. clxxxi. 2. B. C. 55.

At the close of his first campaigns, he annually visited his province of Cisalpine Gaul, bounded by the Arnus and the Rubicon. At Luca, a few miles north of the former river, he generally met his associates in the triumvirate, and concerted with them such measures as were likeliest to maintain and confirm their common power. Though their ascendancy was visible both in Italy and the provinces, yet their designs were systematically opposed by the honest party in the senate, and their proceedings were daringly arraigned by their own refractory tribunes, instruments that often recoiled on the hand that used them. The profligate Clodius thus provoked the animosity of Pompey, who, to suppress the demagogue, used his authority to procure Cicero's recall from exile: and Cicero, from gratitude for this personal favour, declined not to abet Pompey in his pretensions to the office of purveyor general of corn; an appointment more weighty in effect, than dignified in sound, since from causes above explained, it placed under his management all the shipping and commerce of the empire. Two of the triumvirs had thus particular departments, assigned to them, or what the Romans called provinces. Crassus remained contented with turning to the best account his share in the

[51] De Bell. Gallic. passim.

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general patronage, until the consulship which he held with Pompey during Cæsar's fourth campaign in Gaul. It was then decreed by the senate and people, that the conduct of the war in that country should remain with Cæsar for the space of five years: and that the provinces of Spain and Syria, the two most considerable in the empire, should be distributed by lot between Pompey and Crassus.[52]

State of the eastern kingdoms. Olymp. clxxxi. 2. B. C. 55.

The latter obtained Syria with such unrestrained licence in making war and raising armies, as gave him an authority little inferior to that formerly held by Pompey in the East. In that quarter the proud Tigranes of Armenia, and his rival, Phrahates III. of Parthia, were no more. The former was peacefully succeeded by his son Artuasdes; but the throne in Phrahates was disputed between his sons Mithridates and Orodes, the latter of whom was abetted and crowned by the Surena, an officer in the Parthian government, nearly corresponding with the Marishal in the old feudal monarchies of Europe. The person actually bearing that high dignity in Parthia was an able general, through whose exertions, Orodes suppressed and slew his elder brother Mithridates, and chastised the great city Seleucia-Babylonia, which had espoused the cause of his competitor. Mithridates, during the dependency of his fortune, had applied to Gabinius, the Roman governor of Syria; and that general had prepared to cross

[52] Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. ii. & Plutarch. in Pomp. & Crass.

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the Euphrates, when the mandate of Pompey sent him with an army into Egypt to reinstate Ptolemy Auletes.[53] Crassus, appointed successor to Gabinius, was fully apprised of the events in the Eastern world. From the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and from the mountains of Cilicia to Egypt, the Syrians were peaceful subjects. Armenia was an humble ally. Parthia, which had dismembered the Macedonian provinces in Upper Asia, and which had renewed, as it were, in those parts the pomp and splendour of the Persian empire, seemed a prize of inestimable value, yet easy to be won, as still suffering from the troubles by which it had recently been distracted.

Crassus takes command in Syria.

Fired with sanguine confidence, the triumvir quitted Italy with indecent haste, crossed the seas in tempestuous weather, and, in his way into Syria, showed every sign of impatient eagerness. In passing through Galatia, he found Dejotarus, the old Gallic prince whose zeal in the cause of Rome had been so munificently rewarded by Pompey, busied in erecting a new city. Crassus said to him, you have begun the work of building, Dejotarus! at a late hour of the day: nor do you, Crassus! the Gaul rejoined, set out to invade the Parthians by times in the morning. He was then turned of sixty[54]; but hastened to this lucrative warfare in the East, with all the enterprise of youth stimulated

[53] Conf. Justin, l. xlii. c. 4. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 11. Dio. l. xxxix. & Plutarch. in Crasso.

[54] Plutarch. in Crasso.

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by the avidity of old age. Regardless, when he reached Syria, of the civil affairs of the province, his whole care was to collect men and money, and to ransack every repository of treasure, even the most sacred. The temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had generously spared, was robbed of ten thousand talents.[55]

Invades the dominions of Parthia. Olymp. clxxxi. 3. B. C. 54.

With a *great army* of Romans and allies (for his numbers in this first expedition are not ascertained in history), he proceeded towards the Euphrates, and crossed at the ordinary passage which the Greeks called Zeugma; the disorders in the Parthian empire, and the suddenness of his invasion presenting to him a frontier very feebly guarded. He was opposed, however, by the satrap Talymenos[56], commanding a body of Parthians near Ichnia, in Mesopotamia, a stronghold fifteen miles distant from the Euphrates, and nearly twice that interval from the well-known city, Charræ. The first resistless impression of Crassus put the enemy to rout; Talymenos, severely wounded, made his escape four hundred miles southward to Ctesiphon, then the favourite palace, or rather the main encampment, of the Parthian kings. By his retreat, all the cities on both sides the Euphrates were left at the mercy of Crassus: Apamea, Nicephorium, and other places inhabited chiefly by Greeks and Macedonians, received the Romans as friends; for they abhorred the upstart dominion of the

[55] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. de Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 6.
[56] Dion. l. xl. p. 126.

Parthians, and looked back with regret to the time when these now fierce usurpers had been despised subjects to the house of Seleucus. Crassus spent much precious time in the Greek cities, in which collectively, he left about 7000 men; he also employed several days in weighing out the gold and treasures in Hieropolis, a seat of worship of the Syrian goddess, near the right bank of the Euphrates, and rivalling the splendour of Palmyra, as a rich inland emporium. His depredations in Hieropolis much offended Augarus, the Arab chief, whom Pompey, as we have seen, had established in that neighbourhood: the Arab, however, dissembled, for the present, his resentment, in order the more surely, at a fit time, to gratify it.[57] If Crassus had availed himself of the first terror of his arms, he might have proceeded without opposition to Seleucia, and, together with that greatest and richest city of the East, have for ever annexed Mesopotamia to the Roman empire. But he had undertaken his expedition at an unusually late season; his haste to march had deprived him of many expected auxiliaries; and he was solicitous to return into Syria that he might deposit the treasures collected by him in safe custody. CHAP. XXVIII.

Early in the spring, he was joined in Syria by his son of the same name, who had served four campaigns under Cæsar with distinguished glory. The son brought, with other reinforcements to His forces.

[57] Dion. l. xl. p. 129.

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his father, a body of 1000 Gallic cavalry, whose boldness and celerity were expected to prove peculiarly useful in an eastern expedition: he brought to him also letters from Cæsar, highly recommending to him perseverance in the Parthian war. By this time the Syrian army was in readiness to march, and Artuasdes of Armenia had promised to join it with the whole force of his kingdom. Crassus's European army consisted of seven legions; his levies raised in Asia must have been considerably more numerous, since the whole is computed at a hundred thousand men.[58] He was, however, extremely deficient in cavalry, which little exceeded four thousand.

Measures taken by the Parthians — their embassy to Crassus. Olymp. clxxxi. 4. B. C. 53.

To resist the invasion, the Parthians adopted measures no less vigorous than prudent. King Orodes immediately invaded Armenia, to give to Artuasdes sufficient employment at home. The frontier of the Euphrates and the Romans were assigned to the superior abilities of the Surena, at the head of the best troops in the empire. Crassus, meanwhile, proceeded as formerly to Zeugma; and, in his way thither, was met by ambassadors from Parthia. They told him that the warfare, if authorised by the Romans, would not be permitted to end until that people had paid the forfeit of their folly: but that, should Crassus, as they understood, have levied war by his own authority, they pitied his old age, and would allow him to withdraw his miserable garrisons now imprisoned in Mesopo-

[58] Plutarch. in Crass.

tamia. Crassus said, "This haughty language will be answered in Seleucia-Babylonia;" upon which the eldest among the ambassadors, Vogises, rejoined, striking the fingers of one hand against the palm of the other, "hair shall sooner grow here, than you shall enter Seleucia." [59]

The Romans a prey to superstitious terrors.

The war indeed, as the Parthians insinuated, was so far from being agreeable to the Romans, that many sinister prodigies had been thrown in the way of Crassus to deter him from engaging in it. These childish superstitions had made a deep impression on his followers, and had prepared them for viewing as divine warnings very ordinary occurrences. It was said, that the standards, bearing the eagles, could scarcely be torn from the ground: the weather was stormy when the legions crossed the Euphrates; and they had hardly reached its eastern bank, when a gust of wind demolished their hastily constructed bridge. Crassus, in his attempt to console them under this last misfortune, observed that the loss of the bridge was a matter of no moment; for, by the way that they came, none of them were ever to return. These inauspicious words deepened the dismay. The general had not presence of mind to correct them. His orders, however, were obeyed mechanically; the men being too much a prey to their own imaginary terrors, to understand the intent of any thing enjoined them. [60]

[59] Orosius, Florus, Plutarch, Dion.
[60] Plutarch. in Crass.

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The Romans betrayed, and surprised on their march.

In relating the disasters which followed, historians, as if participating in the consternation which overwhelmed the Roman army, have treated so negligently the main points of time and distance, that it is not easy to extract from them any consistent narrative. Instead of keeping near the bank of the Euphrates, and thus proceeding through a fertile country to the rich kernel of Babylonia, and its capital, Seleucia, which ought to have been the great object of his labours, Crassus appears to have directed his march eastward, between the cities Charræ and Ichnæ or Ichnia; preferring this route, by the advice of Augarus, in opposition to that of his best officers, particularly his quæstor Caius Cassius. Augarus, long in secret correspondence with the Parthians, declared that he had reconnoitred their army: That its force was altogether inadequate to a battle, nor had it been raised for this purpose, but merely to cause diversion and delay, until the Parthians should remove into the Scythian desert, with the treasures of Ecbatana, Hecatompylos, Bactra, and other eastern cities. When the Surena was destroyed, and the wealth of the East occupied, the Romans would then find leisure to receive the willing submission of Seleucia, and other Greek colonies. In prosecution of this design, Crassus is said to have led his army far from the Euphrates into a bare and barren plain, destitute of water, of trees, and of herbage, where, deprived of every accommodation, they were stifled with heat and dust, and subdued by

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the nature of their march, before they were buried under showers of Parthian arrows. But this catastrophe, which has been embellished by many tragic circumstances, is not reconcileable with other particulars communicated by the same authors, concerning the engagement. The Romans are said to have halted and refreshed themselves at the river Billicha, flowing on the west both of Charræ and Ichnia. Near this river, Crassus received messengers from Artuasdes, informing him of the invasion of Armenia, and of the obstacle thereby opposed to the intended junction of 16,000 Armenian cavalry with the Romans. Mortifying as this intelligence was, Crassus pursued his march into a country that was so far from being an unvaried plain, that the inequalities of the surface, shaded by many trees, afforded to the Parthians the opportunity for an ambush. The Roman scouts, and Augarus, who himself acted as a scout, declared that they could perceive no enemy in the neighbourhood, though they had discerned many tracts of departing cavalry. Crassus therefore hastened forward, his son preceding him at the head of the Gallic horse, and other troops best prepared for expedition.[61]

Battle of Charræ. Olymp. clxxxi. 4. B. C. 53.

A body of Parthians, not considerable in number, at length made its appearance. Young Crassus advanced to engage them; they fled at his approach: he pursued with alacrity; and being carried to a distance from the legions,

[61] Dion. l. xl. p. 129. et seq. & Plutarch. in Crass.

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found himself encompassed by enemies; those whom he pursued having turned on his flanks, while others in front sprung on him from their concealments. His half naked Gauls at first wounded by Parthian arrows, were next more fatally assailed by the long spears of Parthian cuirassiers, covered with Margian mail, on which their own swords and lances failed to make an impression. In the beginning of the action, two Greeks of Charræ, accompanying young Crassus, advised him to an attempt for escaping by their assistance to the neighbouring and friendly post of Ichnæ. But he resolved to die with his detachment; and his head being fixed on a lance, was displayed before the Roman legions. The father, though smit with the deepest anguish, declared the misfortune to be a private one, and exhorted the troops not to lose heart at the death of a single soldier. By this time he was beset on all sides by Parthians, who had started from their lurking places; while their kettle drums, heard from a distance, sounded to the trembling legionaries like the yells of wild beasts, mixed with rending thunder. Neither the arms nor the tactics of the Romans could in the least avail them. Their short massy swords could not reach the Parthian cataphracts; even their bucklers were transpierced by the Parthian archers. When they extended their ranks, they were a prey to the resistless onset of the former; when they contracted themselves within a narrower space, they afforded sure marks to the latter. Continually receiving wounds, which

they were unable to retort, they at length closed their shields, and being formed into a compact square, stood the remainder of the day like a battered citadel. At the close of evening, the Parthians took their departure, for, as their bows were useless in the dark, and they were careless of fortifying their camp, they never remained, in the night-time, within reach of an enemy. Such was the overthrow near Charræ, towards which city Crassus, to avoid a new attack next day, hastened with all able to follow him, abandoning the badly wounded to the merciless vengeance of the victors. [62] CHAP. XXVIII.

Disastrous retreat of the Romans.

As the Parthians were little acquainted with the art of conducting sieges, Charræ might have long bid them defiance, had it been supplied with magazines adequate to the support of a numerous army. But as such stores were wanting, and the enemy was master of all the surrounding country, Crassus determined to escape in the night; and the better to effect this purpose, delayed his melancholy march till the wane of the moon. The disasters suffered by his army had destroyed subordination. Several considerable parties had taken their flight towards Syria, particularly five hundred horsemen, headed by Cassius, who, being advised to wait a few days till the moon should have passed Scorpion, said, that of all signs in the zodiac he minded only Sagittarius. [63] Crassus soon afterwards moved in a dark night from Charræ towards the projecting branches of mount Masius, which

[62] Dion & Plutarch. ubi supra.

[63] Plutarch. p. 562.

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separate Mesopotamia from Armenia. Could he reach this country, he entertained the hope of meeting with protection from his ally Artuasdes, though many of his officers were inclined rather to fear that, if they escaped the Surena, it would only be to fall into the equally cruel hands of his master Orodes, then ravaging Armenia. The former of these dread commanders was seen advancing in full speed upon the rear-guard of the Romans, at the same time that their van began to ascend the mountains.

Death of Crassus. Olymp. clxxxi. 4. B. C. 53.

The Surena, who wished not to urge the pursuit in such unfavourable ground, summoned by his heralds Crassus to a conference; and himself mounting an eminence, unbent his bow in token of friendship. Crassus, though suspicious of treachery, was over-ruled by his men and officers: he descended therefore with the tribunes Octavius and Petronius, and a few other Romans, the Surena meeting him as had been agreed on, with an equal number of Parthians. They had no sooner come in presence of each other, than the Surena congratulated Crassus on gaining Orodes, the king of kings, for his friend. My master, he said, has sent you a present; and at the same time ordered to be brought to him a horse magnificently caparisoned. A groom then seizing Crassus threw him on horseback, while another began to scare the horse with shouts and lashes. Octavius, however, seized the reins, and having stabbed one of the Barbarians, was himself stabbed in the back by the other. In the bloody tumult that followed, Crassus was

slain, and most of the Romans who had accompanied him; for the Parthians being apprised of the scene ready to be transacted, were prepared to spring forward to abet the contumelious treachery of their general. After the death of Crassus, the greater part of the army surrendered; a feeble remnant still pursued its flight; of a hundred thousand men, legionaries or allies, that had entered Mesopotamia, it was computed that not one-tenth part returned into Syria.[64] CHAP. XXVIII.

His head sent to Orodes.

Crassus, who thus perished a mockery to the Parthians, was one of three men who had for seven years domineered over the Romans, the proud tyrants of nations. His head was sent to Orodes in Armenia, who had by this time entered into a composition with Artuasdes, and who, at the moment that he received the ghastly present, was actually solemnizing the nuptials of his son Pacorus with the sister of the Armenian king. At the end of the entertainment these barbarous kings, as they are commonly deemed, were amused with hearing the recital of Greek verses. The Mænades of Euripides was the subject: this piece was in rehearsal under the direction of Jason of Tralles, a celebrated tragedian, who, upon the introduction of the Surena's messengers, with their disgustful trophy, immediately assumed the mask of Agavé, and recited the words of that frantic princess,

[64] Dion Cassius, & Plutarch, p. 562.

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when she displayed the bloody head of her son Pentheus.[65]

Triumph in Seleucia.

Meanwhile, the destruction of the Roman army in Mesopotamia had laid all the Greek cities in that vast region at the mercy of the Parthians. In Seleucia, the principal of these cities, the Surena entertained the people with an exhibition that burlesqued the Roman triumphs; captives marching in chains, lictors bearing the fasces, empty purses suspended from poles, with crowds of Seleucian courtesans reviling, in licentious songs, the avarice and cowardice of the Romans. To render these enemies as contemptible as they were odious, he showed to the senators of Seleucia, (for that place, though tributary to the Parthians, still maintained internally the form of a Greek colony,) the obscene Milesian tales of Aristides[66], which had been discovered among the baggage of a Roman officer. The senators loudly condemned this instance of profligacy, but whispered among themselves that Æsop had wisely represented all men with two pouches; one before their eyes, containing the faults of others, and one tied behind their backs, filled with their own: for the Surena who discerned the infamy of reading Milesian tales, was himself attended, even in his military expeditions, by waggons loaded with harlots.[67] The senators

[65] Plutarch. p. 562. et Euripidis Bacchæ. v. 1200., &c.

[66] The age of this Aristides is uncertain.

[67] This perhaps was ob nobilitatem, as Tacitus says of the German chiefs. De Mor. Germanor. c. 18.

also remarked to each other, that most of the Arsacidæ, even the most illustrious, were born of Milesian [68] and Ionian courtesans.

Views of Pompey and Cæsar — the former sole consul. Olymp. clxxxii. 1. B. C. 52.

The power of Crassus had long formed a balance between that of Cæsar and Pompey. His destruction, therefore, with the ruin of his vast army, left a free scope to these chiefs, first in their views of trampling on the republic, and afterwards in their designs of supplanting each other. Cæsar was then engaged in his sixth campaign in Gaul, amassing treasures, and exercising armies in the suppression of rebellions excited by his boundless rapacity. Pompey was invested with command in both Spains, which he exercised by his lieutenants: he was also purveyor-general of the empire, in which capacity he occasionally made voyages to Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa; but his attention was chiefly directed to the affairs of the capital, the election of magistrates in Italy, and the appointment of governors or generals in the provinces. The year following Crassus's defeat, he was chosen sole consul, and exercised consular power without a colleague from the first of March to the beginning of August, when he was pleased to associate with him in office his father-in-law Metellus Scipio. [69]

Three important decrees moved by him.

His consulate was distinguished by three decrees, important in their consequences: the first continued to Pompey his command in Spain for

[68] Miletus is in Caria, a district separated by the Mæander from Ionia.

[69] Dion Cassius, Appian. Velleius, l. ii. c. 47.

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the space of five years, with an ample allowance of money for paying his legions: the second granted to Cæsar the privilege of standing candidate for the consulship, without personally appearing in Rome, and thereby relinquishing his command in Gaul: the third forbad all future consuls or pretors to be employed as governors of provinces till five years after the expiration of their magistracies.[70]

Cassius defends Syria against the Parthians.

Amidst the personal interests which engrossed the heads of the republic, (for their usurpations met with continual opposition from the sounder part of the senate), no vigorous measures were taken for repelling the dangers that threatened on the side of Parthia. That haughty power prepared to follow up the dreadful blow which it had inflicted, by expelling the Romans from Asia. Shortly after Crassus's defeat, Syria became a prey to incursions, and must have been totally lost but for the zeal and spirit of Caius Cassius, quæstor to the late unfortunate governor. In virtue of this office, Cassius assembled the feeble remnant of Romans and allies that had escaped the disaster at Charræ, and assumed such a commanding attitude, that the Parthians, who expected to find Syria defenceless, thought fit to repass the Euphrates, purposing to return next year in more formidable numbers.[71] But before their second expedition, the Surena, whose glory offended the pride of a

[70] Plutarch. in Pomp.

[71] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cviii. Velleius, l. ii. c. 46.

jealous master, had fallen a victim to royal ingratitude.[72] Orodes placed, at the head of the invading army, his own son Pacorus, whose youth was assisted by the advice of Osaces, a general renowned in eastern warfare, but not destined to reap laurels in the west. By this time the Romans had sent as governor into Syria Calphurnius Bibulus, who had been consul with Cæsar eight years before. Cicero was also appointed to command in Cilicia, at the distance of twelve years after his memorable consulship. These appointments happened in consequence of Pompey's law just mentioned: for, as the actual magistrates were not allowed to hold provinces till five years after the expiration of their offices, it was thought fit that the provinces, now vacant, should be assigned, by lot, to those who had been consuls at home, but who had not hitherto been employed as proconsuls abroad. The honour, which chance conferred upon him, was extremely disagreeable to Cicero[73]: his talents, he well knew, were better fitted for the senate or the assembly, than for the command of armies: he, however, put himself at the head of above 15,000 men in Cilicia, and circumstances enabled him, even in his military capacity, to perform signal service to his country.

Cicero pro-consul in Cilicia. Olymp. clxxxii. 2. B.C. 51.

Cilicia is contiguous both to Syria and to Cappadocia, but far more accessible on the side of the latter. Cicero, who had made sure of the assistance of the kings Ariobarzanes and

The Parthians defeated and expelled from Syria.

[72] Plutarch. in Crass.

[73] Epist. ad Attic. l. v. c. 10.

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Olymp. clxxxii. 2. B.C. 51.

Dejotarus, took post therefore on the Cappadocian frontier; but, upon learning that the enemy had in great numbers entered Syria, he made haste to cross mount Amanus into that province, where the Parthians had ravaged the open country, and shut up Bibulus in Antioch. Cicero's well-judged movement determined them to raise the siege.[74] In their retreat they fell into an ambush that had been laid for them by Cassius: Osaces, with great part of his army, was slain; and Pacorus, his royal pupil, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the victors. From this period the Roman subjects in Syria and Cilicia lived unmolested for a dozen years, by incursions or even by alarms on the side of the Euphrates; so that the only task that remained for Cicero was to chastise the predatory mountaineers of Amanus, who, being natural enemies to all regular government, had revolted from the Romans, and zealously co-operated with the eastern invaders.[75]

Last four years of Ptolemy Auletes. Olymp. clxxxi. 2. —clxxxii. 2. B.C. 55—51.

In the same year that brought to a conclusion this Parthian war, died Ptolemy XI. Auletes, father to the too celebrated Cleopatra III. the last Greek sovereign of Egypt. During the period of four years that had elapsed since his restoration by Gabinius and Mark Antony, the ascendancy of the Roman cohorts left [illegible]ard his person and throne was disturbed [illegible]y one transaction deemed worthy of rec[illegible]. The first Ptolemies had spared no pains to recommend to

[74] Epist. ad Attic. l. v. c. 20. [75] Epist. Familiar. l. xv. c. 4.

their Egyptian subjects the airy and elegant solemnities of Greece[76], and to wean them from disgraceful and dire rites, especially the abomination of brute worship. But amidst the growing degeneracy of the Greeks in Egypt, the natives of that country adhered more firmly to the strangest and most debasing of their ancient superstitions, which, being rivetted in their hearts, they were prepared to defend at the risk of their lives. Of this atrocious obstinacy an ill-fated Roman was the victim. In practising with the javelin he killed, accidentally, a common and little-valued quadruped; but in that part of the country, the cat being an object of worship, the Egyptians were thrown into tumult by the murder of a god; neither the magistrates, nor the king himself, nor the interposed swords of Roman legionaries, could restrain the fury of their rage. They pursued the unhappy delinquent to his house, and having dragged him from thence to the public place, inflicted on him their fiercest vengeance[77]; thus exerting, in the cause of this vile animal, a degree of manhood to which, in their own defence, no principle of reason, no impulse of sentiment had, for many ages, been able to rouse them.

Auletes, during his whole reign, had been a vassal, and tributary to Rome, or rather to the

[76] Among other, the procession of the κανηφορος, as mentioned by the Scholiast on Callimachus, Hymn first, and confirmed by the decree for Ptolemy Epiphanes's deification: κανηφορω Αρειας, &c. line 6. See vol. iii. p. 365, et seqq.

[77] Diodorus Siculus, l. 1 s. 83

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chiefs of that republic. The gratuities with which he courted one description of Romans, he often borrowed from the usurious avarice of another. In this way Rabirius, a Roman knight, had become his creditor to so prodigious an amount, that it was deemed expedient to appoint him collector of the king's revenues. Rabirius, however, continued but a short time in an office equally dangerous and invidious; and was happy to escape into Italy, robbed of great part of his fortunes.[78]

His testament.

Shortly before his demise, Auletes settled the succession to his kingdom in a manner corresponding to the dependant condition in which it had long subsisted. By his testament, Egypt was left under the guardianship of Rome; and while the original of this instrument was retained in Alexandria, a copy of it, duly authenticated, was transmitted by ambassadors to Pompey, that it might by him be deposited in the Roman treasury.[79] According to this instrument, as the king left two sons and two daughters, the elder of the sons (placed under the immediate tutelage of Pompey) was to marry the elder daughter, and to hold with her an associate sovereignty. The daughter Cleopatra was in her seventeenth year: her brother and husband was enthroned the year after his accession, when he attained the age of fourteen, under the title of Ptolemy XII. Dionysus.

[78] Cicero. Orat. pro Rabir. [79] Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iii.

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Egyptian army—its disorders.

In this conjunct reign, the first event of importance proceeded from the licence of the soldiery, consisting of the Romans above-mentioned, and of Asiatic Greeks, chiefly Syrians and Cilicians, many of them fugitive slaves, outlaws, and robbers; for, from the cowardice of the native Egyptians, or their aversion to a military life, all strangers of a martial description had been long welcome among them, and found ready employment in their army. These adventurers from various countries, by close association with each other, were gradually moulded into one uniform character.[80] They protected against the demands of justice, all whom they favoured, and whom profligacy and audacity made worthy of their fellowship. Their numbers exceeded 20,000; and no body of men in the kingdom, not even the irritable Alexandrians, venturing to oppose them, they plundered the wealthy citizens, set law and government at defiance, beset the gates of the palace, and called for the heads of ministers. Two thousand of them were cavalry, distinguished by superior appointments, and, if possible, by a fuller indulgence in all kinds of disorder. The sons of Bibulus, Roman proconsul in Syria, two youths of great promise, during a visit which they made to Egypt, incurred, we know not for what reason, the resentment of these Egyptian horsemen, and were cruelly murdered by them. The whole of the corps should seem to have

Murder of the sons of Bibulus.

[80] Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iii.

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been involved in the guilt of the design; but the act being perpetrated by a few, Cleopatra, or her ministers, had the spirit to seize their persons, and to send them in fetters to Bibulus. The behaviour of the proconsul and father is cited as a rare example of moderation. He remanded the murderers to Cleopatra, saying, that to require atonement for their crime belonged not to himself, but to the senate.[81]

Cleopatra expelled the kingdom, and her return opposed by Ptolemy. Olymp. clxxxii. 2. B. C. 51.

Shortly afterwards we find Cleopatra, probably for the part which she had acted in this business, precipitated from her throne, and driven in exile from her kingdom. The ministers of her juvenile husband were, Pothinus, an eunuch who had long had the care of his person, and Theodotus, a rhetorician, who had been employed as his preceptor. Through their perfidious selfishness co-operating with the resentment of the soldiery, Cleopatra was compelled to fly with her adherents and treasures into Syria; and Ptolemy Dionysus reigned for a few months without a partner. The queen returned, strongly reinforced, towards Pelusium. The king posted himself on that frontier to repel invasion. The hostile armies were encamped near to each other; that of the king commanding the city and harbour of Pelusium.

Roman civil wars. Olymp. clxxxii. 3. B. C. 50.

But this domestic quarrel was not left to be decided by the exertions of the parties engaged in it; for Cleopatra's whole subsequent history is involved in that of the contemporary period

[81] Valer. Maxim. l. iv. c. 1.

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of Roman civil war.[82] Cæsar had finished his cruel conquest of Transalpine Gaul by cutting off the right hands[82] of those who manfully defended Uxellodunum, a city of Guienne. He was at the head of twelve legions, for many of which he had found employment during eight campaigns, by provoking new enemies as soon as the old were subdued; and all of which his bravery and his indulgence had attached to his person. He commanded the resources of two great provinces, the nearer of which (Cisalpine Gaul) hung like a stormy cloud over Rome, the seat of elegance and power, inhabited or frequented by all persons distinguished in the empire. Such means of mischief, and such incentives to usurpation were in the hands of a man, who, from his first appearance in public life, had lost no opportunity to foment disorder and weaken government. His views were not only suspected, but denounced; and the sounder part of the senate, with all those among the people, who yet retained any veneration for the

[82] My narrative is thus brought back, through many dark and intricate stages, to the same sort of transactions and the same scenes, from which it commenced; the memorable conflicts in the East among Alexander's captains. The issues of the Grecian and Roman warfares differed, indeed, widely; since, by the former, the well-harmonised empire of Alexander was divided; and by the latter, the dominions of Rome were reduced under one master. From the circumstances under which they happened, both revolutions were bad in themselves, and both were attended with still worse consequences. The extinction of the Greek kingdoms was succeeded by four slothful and tasteless centuries of imperial despotism; and the dissolution of Roman power was followed by a thousand years of dark barbarism and bloody anarchy.

[83] De Bell. Gallic. l. viii. c. 44.

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ancient constitution, trembled at the thoughts of being laid prostrate, with their families and future hopes, at the feet of a military despot. Of all men concerned in this catastrophe, Pompey, long Cæsar's coadjutor, seemed the least to apprehend it. As Cæsar commanded both Gauls, Pompey was master of the two Spains, in which he had great armies at his disposal. By another extraordinary appointment, he controlled all the shipping and commerce of the empire. His name was respected or terrible in the rich countries beyond the Hadriatic, where he had subdued kingdoms, and established proconsuls, and where the allies or vassals of Rome had long looked up to Pompey, and principally depended on his patronage. He had recently been sole consul, which made him a sort of king in Italy, in many parts of which his veterans had been rewarded with lands through the credit of their general. Upon his recovery from a short indisposition, public rejoicings were celebrated through the whole of that country, as for the safety of a great and beloved monarch. So much real power, swelled by such boundless popularity, made this credulous child of fortune form a false estimate of himself and his competitor. When told of Cæsar's great military force, and its nearness to Italy, he said he had only to stamp his foot, and armies would spring up from the ground. By the death of his wife Julia, Cæsar's daughter, he had not to endure any painful struggle in his resolution of taking arms against the father of that most af-

fectionate woman; and when Cæsar disobeyed the senate, and refused to disband his legions, Pompey acknowledged the absolute necessity of the war, and entertained not the smallest doubt of his ability to bring it to a happy issue. He expected, however, that his rival would temporise, and long ponder his arduous undertaking before he passed the Rubicon. But the audacity and celerity of Cæsar disconcerted all his measures. Having passed the Rubicon in December, Cæsar was master of Rome and Italy, and had compelled Pompey, with all his adherents, to fly from Brundusium, before the end of the following January. He then hastened into Spain, and in a war which he has described with equal perspicuity and dignity [84], converted the hostile legions in that country into friendly auxiliaries. On his way thither, the siege of Marseilles threatened unseasonably to detain him; for the Massilians, aristocratic in their domestic policy, warmly espoused the cause of Pompey and the senate. But having committed that siege in the spring to the zeal of Decimus Brutus, he marched as abovesaid into Spain, and completed its conquest in the summer. In his return towards Italy in the autumn, he received the submission of Marseilles; he entered Rome in September; and on the 15th of October, set sail for Epirus, that, being paramount in the West [85], he might gain an equal ascendency in the eastern division of the empire.

[84] De Bell. Civil. l. i. c. 37. et seq.

[85] Pompey's flight from Rome rendered Cæsar eventually the

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Battle of Pharsalia. Olymp. clxxxiii. 1. B. C. 48.

His warfare in that quarter, which he has himself, also, admirably related[86], is the most illustrious example in history, of a successful invasion against an enemy not only stronger by land, but absolutely master at sea. Pompey's admirals, Bibulus, Scipio, and his elder son Cneius, commanded fleets collectively amounting to 800 sail. Yet Cæsar found means to transport an army across the Hadriatic, and having in the course of a long campaign signalised his skill and prowess, completely outgeneraled Pompey in the battle of Pharsalia. His heavy infantry amounted to 22,000; Pompey's to 45,000. In cavalry and light troops, his inferiority was still greater. Pompey had the river Enipeus on his right. He therefore flanked his left with the whole of his horse and archers, expecting that these forces, after repelling the unequal cavalry of Cæsar, would turn his right wing, and gain a complete victory. But that able antagonist, having drawn eight choice cohorts from the line, posted them in the rear of his own horse, which, as had been foreseen, was dispersed; but those who had de-

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master of Italy, and his flight from Italy enabled Cæsar to send detachments to Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, while he marched in person into Spain. Success every where attended his arms, except in the province of Africa, where his lieutenant Curio was cut off, with his whole army, by Juba king of Numidia, the personal enemy of Curio, who, in his capacity of tribune of the people, had recently moved a decree for depriving that Numidian prince of his kingdom. De Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 37—44.

[86] De Bell. Civil. l. iii. c. 1—100.

feated it, were suddenly opposed in front by a new and unexpected enemy. The late victorious horsemen were thus put to the rout; and their precipitate flight abandoned to the legionary sword the archers and slingers that had been intermixed with them. Cæsar's select cohorts then turned on Pompey's left, and the havoc made by them in this quarter speedily decided the engagement. With the loss of 200 men and 30 officers, Cæsar says that he destroyed 15,000 of the enemy, and made 24,000 prisoners. [87]

Pompey's flight towards Egypt — murder at Pelusium. Olymp. clxxxiii. 1. B. C. 48.

Pompey, after the battle, escaped to the sea-coast, embarked for Mitylenè in Lesbos, where he took on board his wife Cornelia and his younger son Sextus, collected 2000 men in Cyprus and Cilicia, and steered his course towards Egypt, that, until a more favourable turn of his affairs, he might find protection with young Ptolemy, his pupil. Upon the coast of Syria he learned, that the citizens of Antioch had come to a resolution not to receive him; he purposed therefore to proceed directly to Alexandria, when in his design of passing by Pelusium, he beheld many war gallies near the harbour, great numbers of men stationed on the shore, and all such marks of military preparation, as left in him little doubt that the king, to whom he came, was there present in person. He accordingly cast anchor, and sent a few of his officers to intimate his situation and his wishes. The

[87] De Bell. Civil. l. iii. c. 86. et seq.

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king's counsellors were divided in opinion: if protection should be given to Pompey, they might provoke the resentment of Cæsar; if Pompey, after being rejected by them, should ever re-establish his affairs, they must expect his utmost vengeance: the wisest course, with so formidable a fugitive, which is said to have been suggested by Theodotus above-mentioned, appeared to be his immediate murder. The execution of this design was committed to Achillas, military commander in the district, and Septimius, a Roman tribune, now in the service of Egypt, and who had formerly followed Pompey in his war against the pirates. These men put from shore in a small boat, and rowed to Pompey's galley, on pretence of conducting him into the king's presence. The meanness of the equipage, and the want of ceremony in the address, created suspicion in Pompey's friends, who, with his wife Cornelia and son Sextus, anxiously dissuaded him from leaving them. But having gone too far to recede, he repeated two lines of Euripides,

> "Who ventures thoughtless, on a tyrant's shore,
> Resigns all freedom, that was his, before."

Two of his servants descended into the boat to assist him as he removed into it; not a word was uttered, until Pompey looking steadfastly at Septimius, asked whether they had not formerly been acquainted. The tribune only assented by a nod; upon which Achillas stabbed Pompey, and the work of death was instantly

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completed by his ruffian attendants. The king, at the head of his troops, was drawn up on the coast; Cornelia and Sextus stood on the deck of their vessel in trembling perplexity. The catastrophe could be seen from both sides; and the shrieks of the spectators at sea were distinctly heard by those on shore. As if a signal had been given, all the Roman vessels cut their cables and fled. [88]

Thus perished the "Great Pompey," who had borne a longer sway in Rome than any citizen before him. Great in war, he was ruined through an over-weaning confidence; able in politics, he was disgraced by a perpetual and useless dissimulation. He had attained pre-eminence in power by a combination of favourable circumstances; but he wanted wisdom to improve his good fortune; his ambition was greater than his abilities, and his situation far loftier than his mind. He was solicitous, however, that his honours should be conferred, not usurped; whereas his now prosperous rival looked only to dominion, altogether regardless of the means by which he acquired it.

Cæsar in pursuit of him arrives at Alexandria. Olymp. clxxxiii. 1. B. C. 48.

After the battle of Pharsalia, as it had been the only care of Pompey to provide for his escape, so the sole object of Cæsar was to pursue and overtake him. He arrived at Alexandria, only three days after Pompey had been

[88] Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cxii. Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. ii. & Plutarch. in Pompeio.

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slain at Pelusium, and a very short time after the news of that event had reached the former city. The forces, which Cæsar transported with him thither, amounted to no more than 3200 legionary soldiers, and a body of 800 horse, under the convoy of ten stout Rhodian gallies and a small squadron from Lesser Asia. Twenty-two Egyptian vessels guarded the harbour; fifty well equipped gallies had been sent to the Ionian sea, to reinforce Pompey's fleet, and were now upon their return, after learning his defeat in Thessaly. There was also a considerable number of troops in Alexandria by way of garrison. Under these circumstances Cæsar thought fit to remain at anchor, until Theodotus, the prime mover in Pompey's murder, brought to him the head of this vanquished rival, at sight of which, being seized with a momentary compunction, he shed tears. He received, however, with complacence, Pompey's ring, impressed with an armed lion, and long respected as the signet by which his acts were attested over all parts of the empire.[89] Upon coming on shore, Cæsar was attended in quality of consul with lictors bearing the fasces. This display of authority, by which the majesty of young Ptolemy seemed to be violated, offended the Egyptian soldiers in garrison, and still more the tumultuary populace of Alexandria. Cæsar condescended to remonstrate with and to soothe them; but to frustrate any effects of their return-

[89] Plutarch. in Pomp. Conf. Dion. Cassius, l. xlii. p. 189.

ing resentment, fixed his abode in the strongest part of the palace adjacent to the sea-shore, and defended on the land-side by the theatre, which served him by way of citadel. During the following days, many of his soldiers met with insults in the streets, and a few of them were slain. Notwithstanding these unpromising symptoms, he proceeded, before any reinforcements arrived to him, to exercise the jurisdiction to which he thought himself entitled as representing the Roman commonwealth. Accordingly, he issued his mandate that the kings, meaning thereby Cleopatra and her brother, should suspend their mutual hostilities, and conformably to the injunction in their father's testament, submit the differences, which had armed them against each other, to the arbitration of the Roman consul. Agreeably to this command, both young Ptolemy and his sister sent agents to that division of the palace which Cæsar had occupied. The king still remained at the head of his troops near Pelusium; the queen had not yet ventured to set foot in Egypt.[90]

Requires Ptolemy and Cleopatra to submit their differences to his arbitration.

Only a few months before this period, and immediately previous to the rupture with her brother, Cleopatra had received a visit from Cneius, Pompey's elder son, to whom, besides committing to him an Egyptian squadron for his father's service, she is believed to have surrendered her person.[91] Seven years before, her

Character of Cleopatra.

[90] Dion Cassius, l. xlii. Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iii. Plutarch. in Cæsar.

[91] Plutarch. in Pompeio.

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opening charms had inflamed the profligate Mark Antony, when he served in Egypt under Gabinius.[92] Cleopatra was now in her twentieth year, brilliant in beauty, and surrounded with all those graces that render beauty resistless. Her voice sounded like the sweetest music. She spoke many languages with propriety and delicacy. She could assume all characters at will, which all alike became her; and being conscious of the full extent of her powers, employed them uniformly in the whole following course of her reign of eighteen years, in the service of an ambition unprincipled and boundless.

Her clandestine visit to Cæsar.

The amorous character of Cæsar was a matter of public notoriety; and she doubted not that, by obtaining an interview, she could gain his favour. To elude the vigilance of Ptolemy, and especially of his minister Pothinus, the chief instrument in her expulsion, she trusted herself to a small skiff, and having reached the harbour of Alexandria, was, without the assistance of any other confidant than Apollodorus, a Greek of Sicily, carried by him as a package of goods into Cæsar's apartment. That conqueror delighted in the wiles of love, as in those of war. Her device highly pleased him; he was subdued, or rather enslaved, by her person and conversation. She slept with him that night, and became pregnant of a son, called Cæsarion from his father.[93]

[92] See above.

[93] Dion Cassius & Plutarch. in Cæsar.

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The following morning a summons was sent to her brother to attend the consular tribunal. Ptolemy obeyed; but finding Cleopatra already in the palace, he rushed out of doors, and tearing the diadem from his head, proclaimed to the Alexandrians the conspiracy formed against him. To appease the king, and avert the rising tumult, Cæsar ventured to meet the citizens and soldiers in one of those assemblies, which, from the popular institutions of the kingdom of Macedon, were familiar to all the capitals belonging to that empire. The testament of Ptolemy Auletes was recited: Cæsar gave assurances that his only design was to procure an exact compliance with it: but in order to gain the whole assembly, whether partisans of Ptolemy or Cleopatra, he added, that in conformity to their father's will, not only Ptolemy Dionysus and Cleopatra should reign in Egypt, but that the two younger children of the late king, Ptolemy junior (for he never obtained any higher title) and Arsinöe, should be married according to the Egyptian laws, and hold an associate sovereignty in Cyprus.[94] Nothing he knew could be more pleasing than this arrangement to the Alexandrians, who had testified the utmost displeasure at the recent usurpation of Cyprus by the Romans.

He endeavours to soothe the Alexandrians.

The war of Alexandria, as it is called, might have thus been prevented, could Pothinus, who guided the counsels of Ptolemy Dionysus, have reposed any confidence in the promised forgive-

War of Alexandria excited by Pothinus.

[94] Dion Cassius, l. xlii. p. 201. & Plutarch. in Cæsar.

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Olymp. clxxxiii. 1—2. B.C. 48—47.

ness of Cleopatra. But, as he well knew the relentless mind of that princess, he saw no other means of safety, either for himself or his master, than the excitement of ill-stifled animosities. By a number of low artifices, worthy of a servile courtier and an eunuch, he contrived to agitate the minds of the Alexandrians, while he secretly moved to bolder designs Achillas, the murderer of Pompey, for whom, as the fittest person for his purpose, he had procured the command of the army recently assembled at Pelusium. Achillas was exhorted to march with all speed to Alexandria, that, by a sudden assault, he might crush the handful of Romans within its walls. The movements of the Egyptian army did not escape Cæsar's vigilance. At his desire, Ptolemy sent to penetrate Achillas's intentions, Dioscorides and Serapion, two persons of note, who, in the time of Ptolemy Auletes, had both of them headed embassies to Rome. Achillas had no sooner beheld them than, without listening to a word of apology, he consigned them to the executioner. Upon learning this proceeding, Cæsar was more careful than ever to retain the young king in his power[95], that hostilities on the part of Achillas might involve the guilt of rebellion.

His accomplice Achillas attacks Cæsar's quarters.

Meanwhile that general entered Alexandria. He commanded 20,000 mercenaries, the principal military force of the kingdom; and through the intrigues of Pothinus, his secret confederate,

[95] Cæs. de Bell. Civil. l. iii.

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was assured of the co-operation of the fleet. Having occupied the contiguous parts of the city, he advanced towards Cæsar's quarters, but found the avenues to them so skilfully fortified, and so manfully defended, that, with all his vast superiority of numbers, he was unable in any part to make an impression. While this warfare deformed the beautiful streets and noble edifices of Alexandria, one fiercer and more memorable raged in the harbour.[96] Fifty gallies sent, as above mentioned, to the Ionian sea, had by this time returned into port. They were completely equipped: and, as they had recently sailed to co-operate with the unfortunate Pompey, were the more easily encouraged to oppose his adversary, now likely to be overwhelmed in his turn by Achillas and his army. This squadron of fifty gallies, with the twenty-two guardships in the harbour, attacked the Roman fleet. The combat would have been altogether unequal, but for the persevering valour and matchless skill of the Rhodians. Through their exertions, Cæsar obtained a complete victory, and commanded the whole of the hostile ships to be burned, because he had not a man to spare by whom any of them could be occupied. The fierceness of the conflagration having destroyed the arsenal, from thence communicated itself to the contiguous buildings, particularly the corn magazine; and, having finally seized the library in Bruchion, consumed that noble edifice, con-

Sea-fight in the harbour, and burning of the library in Bruchion.

[96] For the localities referred to see vol. i. p. 338. et seq.

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taining 400,000 volumes.[97] In the midst of this ruinous scene, Cæsar availed himself of the confusion occasioned by it, to seize with little difficulty the light-house on the isle of Pharus, and to secure it by a garrison.[98]

Operations within the the city.

The disaster which happened to the noblest quarter of their city, afflicted the Alexandrians, without suspending their exertions. Besides the harbour in which their ships had been burned, there was another west of the isle of Pharus, in the recesses of which were many gallies that had been laid up by the precaution of former kings, and which might easily be refitted. Many others might be collected from the various mouths of the Nile. The country abounded with sailors, sufficient to man fleets the most numerous; and materials were at hand to equip them, in a city that had long commanded the commerce of the world. While the utmost diligence was used for rendering these maritime resources available, a stubborn combat continued within the walls of the city. The Romans endeavoured to extend their quarters by levelling the contiguous buildings, which, from the small quantity of timber in their construction, were not to be destroyed by fire.[99] They were not held together by wooden frames, but contained solely between walls and vaults, consisting of rough or polished stone. Such was their solidity, that it became necessary

[97] Tit. Liv. apud Senec. de Tranquillitat. Anim. c. 9. Aulus Gellius, l. v. c. 17.

[98] Cæsar de Bell. Civil. l. iii. c. ult.

[99] Hirtius Lib. de Bell. Alexandrin. c. 1.

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to bore holes in the walls to pass the battering rams from one house to another; for the Alexandrians had reared triple ramparts at the head of all their streets and lanes. These ramparts of square stone were, some of them, forty feet high. The lower parts of the city were defended by towers rising in nine and ten stories; other moveable towers, of equal height, were ready to be wheeled forward, wherever their batteries might be useful. In raising these works and engines, the townsmen showed equal ingenuity and alacrity: they were themselves fertile in inventions, and imitated those of the Romans so closely, that it seemed impossible to tell which were the originals. [100]

Arsinoe escapes from Cæsar's quarters.

During all this time Cæsar retained the king in his power; sending him occasionally to show himself from the balcony of the fortified palace, and to command his subjects to desist from rebellion. But they disregarded his orders as coming from a king in captivity. Besides this Ptolemy Dionysus, and his brother, yet a child, Cæsar had in his custody Cleopatra, a willing prisoner, and Arsinöe her sister, younger than Cleopatra, but not less artful or less daring. Notwithstanding the vigilance with which the whole of the royal family was guarded, Arsinöe contrived means to escape from Cæsar's quarters, and to offer herself to fill among the Egyptians the place left vacant by the desertion of Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Her coadjutor was Ganymede,

[100] Hirtius, c. 2, 3.

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an attending eunuch, but who, being still a man in his mind, was well qualified to second his mistress's views of ambition. The flight of Arsinöe made Cæsar doubly vigilant in guarding her brethren the Ptolemies; and he condemned to death Pothinus, long suspected, and now convicted, of a traitorous correspondence with Achillas. Achillas did not long survive his accomplice; for Arsinöe having become all-powerful with the Alexandrians and the mercenaries, they readily sacrificed their general to make way for her favourite Ganymede.[101]

Ganymede takes the command, and deprives the Romans of fresh water.

The eunuch signalised his entrance on command by a measure highly perplexing to the Romans, and those Alexandrians residing within their protection. The whole of Alexandria was supplied with fresh water by the Nile only. The turbid river communicated, by subterranean conduits, with vaults under the city, in which, depositing its viscid sediment, it gradually purified into an wholesome beverage. Ganymede cut off these conduits from the canal of the Nile which supplied them, and forced into them sea-water by means of hydraulic engines. The effect was at first remarked with more surprise than fear. Those inhabiting the extremities of the Roman quarters complained of brackish water; those, residing more inward, declared the water in their vaults to be good. At length the latter was infected with saltness, and the former became unfit for use. The vast multi-

[101] Hirtius, c. 4.

tude of people, and the difficulty of supplying them in due time, in sufficient abundance, with this necessary of life, excited the wildest clamour. Many were eager to quit their houses or bulwarks, as no longer tenable, and immediately to put to sea, that on some part of the neighbouring coast, they might have it in their power to slake their burning thirst. Cæsar, with no small difficulty, composed the cowardly agitation, by assuring them, that on the shore of Alexandria, as on every other, fresh-water might always be found by digging to a due depth. All hands were accordingly employed in the work of constructing wells, which were soon plenteously supplied with the bubbling element.[102]

Cæsar again fights at sea to protect a convoy with reinforcements.

The day after this occurrence, an advice boat entered the harbour, and brought news to Cæsar, that the 37th legion from Asia, with corn, arms, and military engines, had been carried by the east-wind far beyond its destination. To protect this convoy, Cæsar put to sea, commanding his whole fleet to follow him. He left orders that none of his soldiers should embark, because none could be safely spared from the war in Alexandria. In coasting the Chersonesus, a narrow neck of land between the sea and the lake Mareotis, a party of sailors were sent on shore to water, and some of them, straying into the country for plunder, were made prisoners. By this means, it became

[102] Hirtius, c. 5—9.

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known at Alexandria that Cæsar had taken none of his soldiers on board; which encouraged the enemy to set sail with a view to intercept his return. The hostile fleets met, and again, through the bravery and skill of his Rhodians, Cæsar obtained the victory; having captured one of the enemy's quadriremes, and sunk another. The whole might have suffered similar misfortunes, had not night put an end to the battle. The east wind still continuing to blow, the Roman transports were towed to Alexandria by the victorious gallies. [103]

Another sea-fight — gallantry of the Rhodians.

This defeat only increased Ganymede's exertions. In all the mouths and harbours of the Nile there were many armed vessels, employed in collecting port duties and other revenues; these he commanded to be sent to him; even merchant-men and transports he contrived to make useful. Besides this small-craft, he added to his former squadrons twenty-two quadriremes and five quinqueremes. Cæsar's fleet amounted to thirty-four ships of war, of which only fifteen exceeded the rate of trireme gallies. A new sea-fight was desired by both parties; though the risk was unequal, because Cæsar, if defeated, would have been completely ruined; but his enemies, in case of misfortune, had still resources in store. Notwithstanding this consideration, which had occurred not only to himself, but to all on board his armament, he sailed round the eastern promontory of Pharus in

[103] Hirtius, c. 11.

order to offer battle. The enemy also sailed round the western promontory of that island, with the same intention. The fleets, when they came in sight of each other, perceived that they were separated by shallows, into which neither of them wished to be the first to venture. They lay, therefore, on their oars, the Egyptians with signs of defiance. Upon this Euphranor, admiral of the Rhodians, spoke as follows to Cæsar, "You fear to enter these shallows with your van, lest you should be forced into battle, before the remainder of your fleet shall find time to expand. Commit the business to the Rhodians. We will sustain the engagement, unless I much deceive myself, until the other squadrons have time to form. That the Egyptians should assume such insulting airs, both shames and grieves me." Four Rhodian gallies advanced, and were engaged by a far greater number of the enemy. But skill baffled force. The Rhodians keeping on the defensive, never exposed their sides, were never struck on their oars, but always opposed the firmest part of their prows to the hostile assault. Meanwhile the remainder of the Roman fleet were enabled, in fit order, to join the battle: the issue was favourable: two Egyptian vessels were taken, and three sunk; the rest sheltered themselves under the batteries on the isle of Pharus, and on the mole[104] which joined that island to the city.[105]

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[104] The Heptastadium. See above, vol. ii. p. 138.

[105] Hirtius, c. 13—16.

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Cæsar's danger in assaulting the Heptastadium.

The tower or light-house, which stood on the north-eastern point of the island, and which commanded the entrance of the harbour contiguous to the Roman quarters, had already, as we have seen, fallen into Cæsar's hands. But in the isle of Pharus, there was a street of houses little inferior in loftiness and solidity to those of Alexandria. This street extended westward from the vicinity of the mole; and by the towers and bulwarks interspersed in it, formed a sort of fortified chain of no inconsiderable strength. The mole also was fortified by two castles, one on the side of Alexandria, another on that of the island; and, though in other parts solid, had in it two wide arches supporting the two castles, under the protection of which Egyptian vessels often darted through, to the great annoyance of the Romans. Cæsar began with the island, and his assaults were successful: the enemy abandoned even the castle nearest to it on the mole. Many of them precipitated themselves into the sea from bulwarks thirty-feet high, and swam 800 paces across the harbour Eunostus, to the city. Next day, he assailed the second, and far stronger castle. He had expelled from it the garrison, filled up the arch under it, and was employed in strengthening it against the adjacent quarter of Alexandria, when the citizens sallied forth, and opposed him with equal impetuosity and obstinacy. They fought from a wide area between the mole and the city: Cæsar's soldiers on the mole originally consisted of only three cohorts, because more

had not room to form: but, upon sight of the unexpected battle, crowds joined them from the fleet, partly through curiosity, and partly through a desire of fighting, and who having come in a tumultuary manner, without consideration and without colours, no sooner perceived themselves cooped up within a narrow space, and in danger of being attacked on all sides by the Alexandrians, than they hastened precipitately to re-embark, involving Cæsar and his men in their flight. The pursuit of the Alexandrians augmented the confusion, which must have reached the utmost height, since even the vessel into which Cæsar had entered, was overloaded and sunk. Anticipating this event, he threw himself into the sea, and swam across the harbour to his ships, from which he immediately sent assistance to those whom they might yet find in distress. In the battle, four hundred legionaries had fallen, and a great number of sailors and marines. It must not be omitted that Cæsar, when he swam to his ships, carefully preserved some papers which he happened to hold in his hand when the sudden attack was made on him; it is said also that he dragged after him, in his teeth, the purple garment worn by the Roman generals in battle, and thereby saved from disgrace this proud ornament. A contrary report, however, states Cæsar's purple to have fallen into the hands of his pursuers, and to have been by them displayed on a trophy, which they hastily erected on the scene of action. [106]

[106] Conf. Plutarch. in Cæsar. & Dion Cassius, l. xlii. p. 204.

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Ptolemy's artifice—he joins the Egyptian army.

For several following days, the Alexandrians strove to avail themselves of this victory, and the Romans laboured still more strenuously to repair the bad consequences of their defeat. Ptolemy Dionysus's situation had meanwhile continually been growing more irksome to him. Though treated with external marks of regard, all Cæsar's partialities were on the side of Cleopatra. The king's name was used with the Egyptians to serve political purposes; and when these were answered, Cæsar might destroy him as useless, to make room for the sole dominion of Cleopatra, his sister, his wife, and relentless enemy. Such reflections sharpened the invention of a youth (he was then in his 17th year) who had grown up amidst intrigues and danger, and made him devise a plan by which he might obtain his freedom, even with Cæsar's consent. For this purpose some Alexandrians, with whom he secretly corresponded, dispatched emissaries to the Roman quarters, intimating that the government of Arsinöe had become altogether odious to them; and still more the cruel domination of her minister, the eunuch Ganymede. That with Ptolemy, a lawful king, at their head, they would be ready, notwithstanding the opposition of Arsinöe and her abettors, to enter into such terms of accommodation as the Romans thought fit to prescribe. To enforce these words of delusion, Ptolemy, with tears in his eyes, begged Cæsar that he would not send him from his presence; a thing far dearer to him than his crown. The artifice, though suspected, was

successful; for Cæsar considered that if the Alexandrians really meant peace, he could not prudently withhold it from them; and if they persevered in war, a young prince, ignorant of that art, would be of little use to them, but would prove a more honourable antagonist for himself, than a woman and a eunuch; and afford him a fairer pretence for reducing the kingdom under the sole dominion of Cleopatra. Ptolemy having thus obtained his liberty, briskly joined the army, deriding Cæsar's credulity. CHAP. XXVIII.

Reinforcements to Cæsar under Mithridates and Antipas.

His party, however, was disconcerted by news that had not yet reached Cæsar, of the approach of Roman reinforcements from the side of Syria. At the same time many transports and victuallers were expected on the coast. To intercept the latter succours, an Egyptian squadron sailed to Canopus; part of the Roman fleet followed it under Tiberius, father to the future emperor of that name; a few ships, belonging to his island, were commanded by Euphranor the Rhodian; a man who had hitherto commanded fortune in all Cæsar's sea-fights.[107] But on the present occasion, he was betrayed by his own courage, or the pusillanimity of those who acted with him. Having, according to his usual custom, led the van in attacking the enemy, he sunk one of their gallies, and was carried in pursuit of another, into the midst of the hostile fleet. The Romans, and even the

[107] Euphranor, sine quo nulla unquam dimicatio maritima, nulla etiam parum feliciter confecta erat. Hirtius, c. 25.

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Rhodians, were slow in supporting him; he was closely beset and sunk, with all on board his long victorious quadrireme.[108]

Meanwhile the reinforcements from Syria had continued to advance, until their progress was interrupted by the garrison of Pelusium. With a small mixture of Roman legionaries they consisted of Syrians, Cilicians, Pergamenians, Jews, and Arabs: and were headed by Mithridates of Pergamus, a man who derived his name from the great Mithridates of Pontus. He was not, however, son to that prince, but a captive taken in war, allied on the mother's side to the ancient royal house of Pergamus. From partiality to the mother, widow of a Gallic tetrarch, Mithridates showed much favour to the son, and caused him to be liberally educated. After the ruin of his benefactor, young Mithridates submitted to the protection of Rome, and being commissioned to conduct the above-mentioned reinforcements to Alexandria, displayed no less ability than zeal in the performance of this important service, for which he was afterwards rewarded by Cæsar with the crown of Pontus.[109] Throughout his whole expedition, Mithridates was ably seconded by the courage and counsels of Antipas or Antipater, an Idumæan by country, and a Jew in religion: particulars the more worthy of record, because the merit of Antipas, on this occasion, afterwards recommended his family to the good

[108] Unus (viz. Euphranor,) ex omnibus eo prælio bene rem gessit, solus cum sua quadriremi victrice periit. Id. ibid.

[109] Appian. Mithridatic. c. 121.

offices of Rome, and eventually made his son Herod, king of the Jews. [110] CHAP. XXVIII.

Mithridates having overpowered the garrison of Pelusium, and removed all danger from any enemy behind him, instead of proceeding directly westward, through the canals and marshes of Lower Egypt, pursued the route towards Memphis, and from thence advanced into that part of the Delta which is nearest to Alexandria. In his march he was often opposed by forces assembled in the districts through which he passed; and by others which Ptolemy sent against him. He defeated both; and, by force or well-concerted stratagem, surmounted every difficulty that either the enemy or the nature of the country threw in his way, until he arrived at Canopus, the most western branch of the Nile.

Total defeat of the Egyptians and death of Ptolemy. Olymp. clxxxiii. 2. B. C. 47.

Both Cæsar and king Ptolemy had been apprised of his progress, and both in consequence of this news sailed about the same time from Alexandria; the former to co-operate with Mithridates, the latter to resist his invasion. Ptolemy chose the shortest navigation along the canopic branch of the Nile, where he was powerful in shipping; and, at the end of his voyage, encamped between that river and the marshes of the lake Mareotis. Cæsar also proceeded eastward from Alexandria, with the apparent intention of likewise remounting some branch of the Nile, but, in the night, changing his course after extinguishing his lights, he

[110] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 2. De Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

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sailed round the Chersonesus or peninsula formed between the lake Mareotis and what was called at Alexandria the sea of Africa, and thus landing on the south-west of that city, proceeded with silence and celerity to fall unexpectedly on Ptolemy wherever he might be found. [111] He accordingly surprised him in his encampment, made a dreadful havoc of his men, and forced him to attempt his escape in such hasty trepidation, that the vessel into which he threw himself for that purpose was overset, and the king drowned in the Nile. [112] Thus perished Ptolemy XII. Dionysus, in the eighteenth year of his age, after a reign of three years and eight months; a youth to whom good fortune was wanting; not surely either deep stratagem or bold enterprise.

Submission of the Alexandrians, and Cæsar's long stay among them. Olymp. clxxxiii. 2. B. C. 47. January, April.

Cæsar's decisive victory made him master of Egypt. To appease his resentment, he was received at Alexandria by priests in solemn procession, and by the principal citizens bearing emblems of supplication. The kingdom, and all ranks of persons in it, were entirely at his disposal; and as no obstacle remained, there needed not to have been much delay in adjusting their different pretensions, and settling the future condition of their country. Yet, notwithstanding the urgency of affairs that will be mentioned presently, Cæsar continued three months longer in Alexandria. The curiosities of various kinds united in the capital of such a renowned kingdom, and the pre-eminence of its schools

[111] Dion Cassius, l. xlii. p. 205. [112] Hirtius, c. 31.

in so many branches of useful knowledge, might prove resistless allurements to a conqueror who, amidst the warmest pursuits of ambition or of pleasure was sedulously attentive to every ingenious art, and in matters of literature disdained not the minutest researches.[113] But his stay was unseasonably prolonged, chiefly through the wiles by which Cleopatra, young as she then was, had ensnared him. Every thing was settled agreeably to her inclination; and being associated with Ptolemy *Junior*, a child in his eleventh year, she was left sovereign of Egypt and Cyprus, with three Roman legions to support her authority. Her sister Arsinöe, whose character might have alarmed her jealousy, was carried as a captive to Rome, that, in the year following, she might be subjected to an ignominious death, after she had adorned the victor's triumph. But the youth and beauty of Arsinöe inspired pity even into the vile populace of Rome, and into the Roman soldiers, whom Cæsar durst not offend. She was allowed to remove into the province of Asia, and to reside in safety there, under the protection of Greek temples, until, five years afterwards, Mark Antony sacrificed her life to the relentless cruelty of Cleopatra.[114]

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In the war which raged for six months in Alexandria, the inhabitants of that city, though degenerate from their ancestors, and divided

Observations on the war.

[113] Sueton in Cæsar. c. 56.

[114] Plutarch. in Cæsar. & in Anton.

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amongst themselves, still exhibited, in the public defence, memorable examples of bold design and patient execution. Egypt, deformed indeed, by the vices and follies of those who had long ruled it, still abounded, however, in the resources of men and money, of skill and industry; and still contained the materials of a great naval power. In the course of the war, not less than 110 gallies, which may be computed to have contained about 40,000 men, were destroyed by the Romans and Rhodians; notwithstanding which misfortunes, the Egyptians continued to equip new fleets, and found no difficulty in manning them [116], when Cæsar's victory by land decided the doom of their ill-fated country.

[116] Hirtius de Bell. Alexand. passim.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Cæsar every where victorious. — His Murder. — Views of the Conspirators. — Their Abettors and Opponents. — Second Triumvirate. — The Proscription. — Octavius's War with Sextus Pompey. — State of the Eastern Provinces. — Cruel Exactions of Brutus and Cassius. — First and Second Battles of Philippi. — Opposite Proceedings of Octavius and Antony. — War of Perusia. — Parthian Invasion. — Pompey's Fleet defeated in the Bay of Naulochus. — Octavius Master of the West.

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Cæsar's delay in Alexandria allows his enemies to gather strength. Olymp. clxxxiii. 2. B. C. 47.

CÆSAR'S long stay in Egypt, unaccountable on any principle of sound policy, afforded time for his enemies, in many quarters, to gather strength. Pharnaces, king of Bosporus, laid claim, in right of his father the great Mithridates, to the far more powerful kingdom of Pontus, and justified his pretensions by a decided victory over Domitius Calvinus proconsul in Asia.[1] The destruction of Curio at the head of a great army, by Juba king of Numidia, enabled Scipio and Cato to possess themselves, in name of the senate, of the Roman province of Africa[2]. The sons of Pompey sailed from Africa to Spain, and found means to recover the authority long held in that country by their father.[3]

[1] Appian. Mithridat. c. 120.

[2] Id. de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 44. et seq.

[3] Ibid. c. 87.

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He defeats Pharnaces at Ziela in Pontus. Olymp. clxxxiii. 2. B. C. 47.

Such were the tidings which roused Cæsar from his dream of pleasure. He disentangled himself from the snares of Cleopatra; "came, saw, and conquered"[4] Pharnaces. That unfortunate prince was slain in his flight from the scene of action near Zela or Ziela[5], one of the rich sacerdotal cities in Pontus.[6] Having trampled on this upstart enemy in the East, Cæsar returned through the Lesser Asia and Macedon into Italy. There, during his delay in Alexandria, Mark Antony had been entrusted with a vicarious authority, which he displayed in all the terrors of military despotism. Careful solely to flatter his soldiers, the citizens were treated by him at once cruelly and contumeliously. While he paraded ostentatiously the high-ways of Italy, his chariots were filled with harlots, and sometimes drawn by lions.[7]

Mark Antony his lieutenant in Italy.

Cæsar's victory at Thapsus. Olymp. clxxxiii. 3. B. C. 46.

The mutinous temper of troops, inflamed by victory and indulgence, retarded Cæsar's departure for repressing his enemies in Africa. He sailed, however, for that coast against Scipio, precisely two years after he had crossed the Hadriatic against Pompey; for, upon the same motive as formerly, he determined to undertake his voyage during the autumnal equinox, the season least suspected. The campaign lasted only five months. Scipio was totally defeated

[4] Veni, vidi, vici. Sueton. in Cæsar. c. 37. Conf. Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 91.

[5] Dion Cassius, l. ii. p. 207.

[6] See above, chap. xxvii. & Strabo. l. xii. p. 559.

[7] Plutarch. in Antonio.

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at Thapsus; and Cato stabbed himself in Utica, that he might die free, without exposing his friends to a hopeless conflict.[8] Next year the war was carried into Spain against the Pompeys, Cneius and Sextus; and the well-fought battle of Munda decided the fate of that warlike province. Above thirty thousand of the enemy perished in the engagement; and the head of Cneius, the elder brother, was presented shortly afterwards to Cæsar, while he advanced to the neighbouring city Hispalis or Seville.[9]

And Munda. Olymp. clxxxiii. 4. B. C. 45.

Having crushed his opponents in the three divisions of the world, the conqueror returned into Italy, fully possessed of the sovereignty to which he had long and openly aspired. Pompey, his less daring or less unprincipled rival, had been many years king of Rome, without appearing to aim at that dignity; and Cæsar was encouraged to usurp absolute power, by seeing the height to which Pompey had almost unconsciously ascended. As plain undisguised dominion was his object, he rejected none of the most extravagant honours, which the servility of the senate was forward to heap on him: and when its members came in a body to announce to him his deification itself, he did not once rise from his throne, placed, not without design, before the temple of Venus Genitrix, from whom, on the faith of the vilest legends, he now

His return to Rome and assassination. Olymp. clxxxiv. 1. B. C. 44.

[8] Hirtius de Bell. African. Plutarch. in Caton. Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 99.

[9] Auctor. de Bell. Hispan. Dion. Cassius, Appian. Plutarch. in Cæsar.

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boasted his descent. In the latter period of his civil wars, the most revered temples had not escaped his rapacity. He brought the value of twelve millions sterling into the treasury, and distributed that of a hundred pounds to each legionary soldier. The number of Roman citizens entitled to receive corn from the public granaries, he reduced, however, from 320,000, to half that number. Many hundreds of mean persons were received by him into the senate; the rolls of the people, on the other hand, he ennobled by admitting on them all foreigners resident in Rome, who cultivated liberal arts, or exercised learned professions.[10] With the assistance of Sosigenes, a mathematician of Alexandria, he reformed the Roman[11] calendar. Men eminent in arts or letters, belonging to that city, now frequently transported themselves to Rome; several of them, we may suppose in the train of Cleopatra, who came thither repeatedly to visit Cæsar, in whose family she resided at the time of his murder, regarding him as an absolute prince, and treating the noblest Romans as his subjects.[12] Cæsar's pride was gratified with every mark of obeisance that was offered to him; and his ostentation[13] of power, more intolerable than power itself, provoked his assassination in the senate house by a conspiracy

[10] Sueton. & Plutarch. in Cæsar.
[11] Plin. N. H. l. xviii. c. 25. Conf. Sueton. in J. Cæsar. c. 40.
[12] Cicero ad Attic. l. xv. c. 5.
[13] Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 106. et seq.

of above sixty[14] indignant members of that long degraded council.

Measures previously taken against the Parthians.

At the time when this enormity was committed, precisely twelve months after the battle of Munda, its perpetration was more likely to eclipse the splendour of Rome, than to restore the Romans to liberty. Shortly before his murder, Cæsar had projected an expedition against the Parthians, the only hostile power left for him to humble. Seventeen legions, with a body of 10,000 horse, destined to that service, he had partly transported across the Hadriatic: and, as the subjugation of so powerful and so extensive an empire must be the work of time, he had fixed, as a preliminary to his departure, the succession of magistrates at Rome, and of commanders in the provinces, for a period of five years.[15] Both before and afterwards, the arms and tactics of the legions showed themselves highly incompetent to the exigencies of a Parthian warfare. Cæsar's consummate abilities as a general might have remedied their defects. He might have adopted the Macedonian spear, the most efficacious manual weapon against cavalry; he might, by continued attention and exercise, have improved the rapid impulse of the Roman squadrons; and thus, emulating the resistless career of Alexander, have carried his arms in triumph over the vast central plains of Asia. But his death, at the age of fifty-six,

[14] Sueton. in J. Cæsar. c. 18.

[15] Conf. Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 106. Dion. Cassius, l. xliii. p. 239. & Plutarch. & Sueton. in Cæsar.

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intercepted all such projects, without affording, in compensation, any well-grounded hope of restoring the commonwealth, whether we examine the authors of that design, the instruments with which they were obliged to work, above all, the obstacles which they had to encounter.

Character and views of the conspirators.

At the head of the conspirators, historians [16] place Caius Cassius, and the two Bruti, Marcus and Decimus. We have seen Cassius second in command in Crassus's unfortunate expedition, and afterwards defending Syria against an irruption of Parthians. [17] In the civil war that followed, he commanded part of Pompey's fleet; and after the battle of Pharsalia, hesitated whether to crave pardon of Cæsar, or to seize an opportunity of murdering him. Having embraced the latter purpose, he was diverted from it by a mere accident. Cæsar, in the pursuit of Pompey through Cilicia, landed on a different side of the Cydnus, from that on which Cassius expected him; and the disappointed assassin hastily made his submission. [18] He was a man of more enterprise than constancy; daring in his resolutions, and precipitate in his measures. Marcus Brutus, his accomplice, and then his colleague in the pretorship, descended from the first and great champion of Roman liberty; and the dignity of the name he bore, was sustained by the purity

[16] Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. ii. c. 110. et seq. Dion. Cassius, l. xliv. p. 244. et seq. Plutarch. in Cæsar & in Bruto.

[17] Cicero, Philippic. l. ii. c. 11.

[18] Suetonius & Dion. Cassius, l. xlii. p. 188. Conf. Plutarch. in Bruto.

and gravity of his own life, and his absolute devotion to the republic.[19] Though hating Pompey, who in the civil wars of Sylla had slain his father, and though so much the favourite of Cæsar, that many suspected him to be his son, (Servilia, the mother of Brutus, being no model of chastity,) he was taken fighting on the side of Pompey at Pharsalia. The victor protected and pardoned him; and disarmed, as he had reason to believe, all future hostility, by appointing Brutus commander in Cisalpine Gaul, and shortly afterwards pretor in the city. To such high favours, even the coldest mind could not remain insensible; but Brutus, after the early loss of his father, had placed himself under the tuition of Cato, his maternal uncle. From him, chiefly, he imbibed the stern maxims of Stoicism; maxims at much variance with the indulgent benignity of his natural temper. His name was familiar to the people, as an able pleader of causes: he was in esteem with the great, as a proficient in letters and philosophy. By all ranks, he was thought qualified to fill an high destiny; and his abhorrence of tyranny, even in the hands of a benefactor, being whetted by the indignant Cassius, was stimulated into action by the desire of proving to the world and himself that he preferred his principles to his feelings. Decimus Brutus had served under Cæsar in his Gallic wars, and when his general marched into Spain, had been entrusted by him with the im-

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[19] Plutarch. in Bruto.

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portant siege of Marseilles. He had continued to live with him through all stages of his fortune in the closest intimacy, insomuch that Decimus, jointly with Mark Antony, was named executor of Cæsar's will, and guardian to his young kinsman, Octavius. To this youth, grandson to his sister Julia, Cæsar had bequeathed the inheritance of his name and fortune; constituting, in the same deed, Decimus Brutus his second heir.[20] Bound by such a weight of obligation, it is possible that Decimus approved not the conspiracy even in his own breast: and he acknowledged on a future occasion, that he was drawn into it by a certain resistless malignity in his fortune.[21] United with these three principals, there were many inferiors who thought themselves neglected by Cæsar; several whom his contumely had[22] offended; a few sanguine tempers, who hoped to re-establish the ancient commonwealth; a greater number who aimed chiefly at avenging its downfall in the usurper's blood.

Their instruments and opponents.

Had the projectors of the revolution been qualified to act with systematic energy, little success could be expected from the only instruments which they had it in their power to employ.

[20] Sueton. in J. Cæsar. c. 83.

[21] Se enim non sponte, sed fatali quodam infortunio tractum ad conspirationem esse. Oros. l. vi. c. 18. Conf. Appian. l. iii. c. 97.

[22] Among others, the tribune Pontius Aquila, who, not rising from his tribunicial bench when Cæsar passed in triumph, became an object of mockery. The dictator promised nothing to any one for several days afterwards, without adding, "si tamen per Pontium Aquilam licuerit." Sueton. in J. Cæsar, c. 78.

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The whole fabric of the government had long hung on Cæsar. The armies and the provinces were in the hands of his dependants. Lepidus, recently his master of horse, commanded a legion in the suburbs. Mark Antony, after his patron's murder, remained sole consul; and two brothers of Antony, Caius and Lucius, filled respectively in Rome the offices of pretor and tribune. By the admission of persons into the senate, who had no other merit but devotion to Cæsar's will, that council, now consisting of nine hundred members, had been doubled and debased. The Roman people numbered at four million on their rolls, bartered liberty for bread and public shows; and the sounder part, either of the people or of the senate, were sure on every occasion, to be outvoted, overpowered, and stifled even in their murmurs, by the terrors of an armed force. Italy was filled with discharged veterans, who owed their lands to Cæsar; the capital itself was at this time crowded with them: part had come to see their generous benefactor before he marched against the Parthians; a greater, to solicit new favours from his bounty.[23]

Antony likely to step into Cæsar's power.

Under such circumstances the conspirators found that, by destroying the usurper, only a small part of their work was done. In vain they paraded Rome with the cap of liberty. While the extent of their enterprise was unknown, they excited sus-

[23] Dion Cassius, l. xliv. Appian. Bell. Civil. l. ii. Plutarch. in Cæsar. & in Bruto.

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picion and terror: they were heard by most with such astonishment, and by all with such faint approbation, that they thought fit, on pretence of returning thanks to the gods in the capitol, to take refuge in that strong-hold. Mark Antony temporised, while he still feared for his own life, and knew not by how many the conspiracy was abetted. Actually sole consul, and formerly Cæsar's vicegerent in Italy, he might entertain fair hopes of succeeding to his patron's power; for his abilities as a general were equal to his ambition; he had dexterity to manage the rude military mind; and his manners endeared him to those licentious troops, whose rapacity he indulged, and whom he personally outdid in all kinds of profligacy.[24] While he meditated fit means for gaining Cæsar's veterans, he immediately, by virtue of his high office, seized the public treasures in the temple of Ops, exceeding in value eight millions sterling: in quality of executor to Cæsar's testament, he at the same time obtained the custody of all his papers. The whole scheme of usurpation was well conceived and ably executed. In addition to troops and treasures, the ordinary instruments of an usurper, Antony, through Cæsar's papers containing plans and hints for the future government of the empire, possessed himself, as it were, of the mind of the late dictator: and, as he quickly procured from the senate and people a decree for ratifying all Cæsar's acts, he was enabled,

[24] Plutarch. in Anton.

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under that sanction, to exercise an uncontrouled authority at home and abroad, and to command at will the persons and properties of every community and every individual dependant on the Roman empire.[25] He would thus have stepped, as it were, at once into Cæsar's throne, but for the sudden appearance of a rival, from whose youth and inexperience he had apparently little danger to apprehend. This was Octavius, just mentioned, now only in his nineteenth year. He had accompanied his adoptive father in his late war in Spain against the sons of Pompey; and that he might be ready again to attend him in his Parthian expedition, had sailed to Apollonia in Illyricum, a city well known to the readers of this history, in which he had assiduously employed himself six months, under eminent Greek masters, in the study of letters and philosophy. Neither the tears of his mother Attia, nor the remonstrances of his step-father Philip, nor the admonitions of his most respected friends, could prevent Octavius, upon hearing of Cæsar's death, from appearing at Rome to claim the inheritance of his name and fortune.[26] This design, in its full extent, I mean the inheritance of Cæsar's power as well as property, Octavius prosecuted with an admirable mixture of caution and courage, steadily advancing to his end, while he dexterously varied his means. In the first year of his public life, he was a zealous patriot;

Finds an unexpected competitor in Octavius.

His courage and dexterity.

[25] Plutarch. in Anton.

[26] Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 60.

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for the twelve years following, he acted the part of a bloody triumvir; during a reign of forty-four years, he deserved to be called the father of the Roman people. Treated scornfully by Antony, he affected to adopt the sentiments of the more dignified part of the senate, and to be implicitly guided by Cicero [27], who though not admitted into the secret of the conspiracy, was of all men the most forward to fan the generous flame which it had kindled, that, through Cæsar's death, he might bring the commonwealth to life.

During the competitions of Octavius and Antony, the conspirators gain strength in the East. Olymp. clxxxiv. 1. B. C. 44.

With indefatigable industry Octavius laboured to divide with Antony the affections of the veterans. During the struggle for this most important object, several conspirators, who had escaped from home amidst tumults that threatened their lives, gained strength [28] in the provinces assigned them by the late dictator's arrangements preparatory to his Parthian warfare. Decimus Brutus thus commanded in Cisalpine Gaul; Trebonius in Asia, or Pergamus; Cimber in Bithynia; Brutus and Cassius, the year of their pretorship not being yet expired, had been superseded by Antony in the great governments of Macedon and Syria, to which they had been destined by Cæsar. In lieu of provinces Antony granted them commissions for providing Italy with corn. He afterwards assigned the province of Crete to Brutus, and that of Cyrené to Cassius; with which inferior appoint-

[27] Cicero ad Attic. l. xiv. c. 10, 11.

[28] Appian, Dion Cassius, & Plutarch. in Bruto.

ments they were greatly dissatisfied. Availing themselves, therefore, of the fleets entrusted to them as purveyors, they crossed the Hadriatic, and, in the manner that will be explained presently, collected a mighty force, not less than twenty legions, in the East.

Measures of Antony. Olymp. clxxxiv. 1. B. C. 44.

In this quarter, the fate of the empire was to be decided a second time: but previously to the main action at Philippi in Macedon, a more intricate though inferior scene had been transacted at Mutina in Italy. While the principal eastern provinces fell into the hands of the conspirators, those in the west remained with men secretly adverse to their cause. Plancus commanded five legions in Transalpine Gaul; Pollio commanded two legions in the Farther Spain; and Lepidus marched with seven legions into the nearer division of that country. Meanwhile the senate held its usual meetings: the tribes occasionally convened to vote; but the resolutions of these bodies were often contradictory to each other, and the decrees of both were moulded at will by the two military chiefs who alternately prevailed. When Antony was sole master, he had obtained a vote of the people conferring on himself the province of Macedon, and Syria on Dolabella, his colleague in the consulship. He afterwards reversed the former part of that decree. Macedon was transferred to his brother Caius, and he himself took in exchange Cisalpine Gaul. The motive of this alteration was obvious. Vested with authority over Macedon, he had a right to send orders to the legions in that pro-

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vince, and accordingly commanded part of them to return into Italy. When he had obtained this reinforcement, the government of Cisalpine Gaul would place him with an army at the gates of Rome, and fortify him, as it were, in that citadel from which Cæsar had assailed and entirely overset the commonwealth. That his design failed, may be ascribed solely to the opposition of Octavius.[29] By expending the whole of his private fortune, by the disbursement of every sum that he could beg or borrow, by the lavishness of his promises, above all, by the dexterity and energy which showed him born for command, he confirmed the fidelity of his own troops, and brought over to him many of those who had sworn allegiance to his adversary. Antony, to prevent still further defections, led his army, about 30,000 strong, into Cisalpine Gaul, that he might employ it in dislodging Decimus Brutus from that province. Octavius followed the enemy at a due distance to watch his motions, and was joined successively by the new consuls Hirtius and Pansa, bringing with them considerable levies for the public service.

Defeated by Octavius.

Before their arrival, Decimus Brutus had thrown himself with two legions and auxiliaries into the strong city of Mutina or Modena. Antony besieged the place. To relieve it, various battles were hazarded; in the first of which Pansa was mortally wounded; and in the

Siege of Mutina. Olymp. clxxxiv. 1. B. C. 44.

[29] Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. 3. c. 21. et seq. Dion Cassius, l. xlv. p. 371. et seq.

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last, his colleague Hirtius, after storming the enemy's camp, was slain near the prætorium, or general's pavilion. During this latter action, Decimus had made a vigorous sally; and, if he and Octavius had zealously co-operated after Hirtius's death, there is little reason to doubt that they might have overwhelmed the common enemy.[30] Antony had lost half his army in battle; he knew, however, that, though he had been proscribed by the senate, the forces in Transalpine Gaul and in Spain were attached to his cause and his person: Ventidius also, actually a Roman prætor, had in defiance of higher authority, been levying troops for his service. Under these circumstances, he had fled northwards in the night, with a view of waiting for the junction of Ventidius, and, if necessary, of passing the Alps, that he might be able to resist his pursuers.

Antony crosses the Alps — his views therein.

The danger was less than he apprehended. Decimus Brutus had no confidence in Octavius. A conference between them only widened the breach. The death of the two consuls opened new views to the adopted son of Cæsar, who now declared, more sternly than ever, his purpose of bringing to punishment the murderers of his father. The senate, after employing his aid against Antony, showed an indiscreet suspicion of its auxiliary.[31] Orders came from Rome placing the whole of the combined army under the command of Decimus Brutus; regardless of

Breach between Octavius and Decimus Brutus.

[30] Sueton. Appian. Dion, Cicero ad Familiar. l. x. c. 30. et seq. & Phillippic. l. xiv. c. 10.

[31] Velleius, l. ii. c. 62. Sueton. in August. c. 12.

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which, Octavius not only retained under his standard the veterans attached to him, but gained many of the new levies made by the late consuls, and continued with this force in Italy, while Decimus, with a few broken legions, marched in pursuit of Antony into Gaul. There Decimus soon found it necessary to become himself the fugitive. In concert with its commander, the great army under Lepidus had declared itself for Antony [32]: the forces under Plancus and Pollio prepared to follow the example. The audacious Ventidius, after failing in a conspiracy for destroying Cicero and all the more dignified portion of the senate, brought three legions to the same standard. Decimus, threatened by so many enemies, hastened towards the Rhætian Alps, in order to escape by that intricate rout into Macedon. He was deserted by his army, and cruelly slain in the neighbourhood of Aquileia. [33]

Flight and murder of the latter. Olymp. clxxxiv. 2. B. C. 43.

Meanwhile Octavius availed himself with great ability of the favourable situation in which fortune had placed him. He confirmed the affections of the troops by which he had been recently joined. They, as well as Cæsar's veterans, regarded him as rightful heir to the dictator. Rome was in consternation at the junction of Lepidus with Antony. Brutus and Cassius were at a distance; and Octavius, at the head of a great army in Italy, seemed the

Octavius elected consul. Olymp. clxxxiv. 2. B. C. 43.

[32] Cicero ad Familiar. l. x. e. 21. 35. Conf. Velleius, Appian.

[33] Valer. Maxim. l. xivt c. 7. Oros. l. vi. c. 18. Appian. Velleius.

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only present help against an enraged usurper abetted by perfidious rebels. Under these circumstances, the young Cæsar intimated his intentions of standing candidate for the consulship. Such a pretension, in a man under his twentieth year, was not cordially supported even by his friends. But a party of centurions being sent to solicit for him, asserted his strong claim by pointing to their swords.[34] He entered Rome with his army, but again evacuated the city, on pretence of leaving the elections free. Q. Pedius, a senator entirely at his devotion, was united with him in the consulship. Having left the management of civil affairs to this obsequious colleague, Octavius marched from Rome apparently with a design to combat the public enemies in Gaul. His real purpose, however, was far different; he secretly negociated with these enemies, and finding the views of Antony and Lepidus entirely conformable to his own, thought it no longer necessary to keep any measures with the republic. By orders communicated to his creature Pedius, the decree against Antony and Lepidus was reversed, and the attainder passed on them was directed against Brutus and Cassius. It was afterwards extended to all their accomplices and abettors, and to the opponents of the Cæsarean cause in every part of the empire.

Second triumvirate.

Meanwhile Antony and Lepidus passed the Alps: they advanced towards Mutina, the scene

[34] Sueton. in August. c. 18. Dion. Appian.

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Olymp. clxxxiv. 2. B. C. 43.

of recent warfare, and were met by Octavius on the banks of the river Rhenus, which flows in that neighbourhood from the Apennine into the Po. According to concert, each had brought with him five legions. The three generals held continual conferences during three days on a little island in the Rhenus, and adjusted among them the terms of the second triumvirate. It agreed precisely with the first in the authority which the triumvirs assumed over Rome; its laws, revenues, armies, and provinces.[35] But the first triumvirate was a secret transaction, announced only in its effects; the second was a public and formal deed[36], declared by proclamations, and commemorated by medals.[37] It was to have force like the former, during a period of five years; for it was still thought prudent to amuse the state, and even the army, with the shadow of returning liberty. But before this could be realised, it was necessary that the murderers of Julius Cæsar should be brought to condign punishment; Cæsar, once the bulwark of the empire, and now rather worshipped as a god, than revered as the most glorious of de-

[35] Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. iv. c. 2. et seq. & Dion. l. xlvi. p. 326. An exclusive authority was assigned to Lepidus in both Spains and in Narbonese Gaul; a similar authority, to Antony in all the rest of Gaul on both sides the Alps: Octavius, for his peculiar province, had Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. But these arrangements had no immediate effect, and were speedily altered.

[36] Appian. l. iv. c. 7.

[37] A silver medal of Octavius, (C. Cæsar, III. vir) has on the reverse an altar with three figures sacrificing, and victory presenting them with a crown: the inscription, salus generis humani.

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The proscription. Olymp. clxxxiv. 3. B. C. 43.

parted sovereigns. The second triumvirate therefore began in blood. The names of 300 senators and 2000 persons of the equestrian order were published in the execrable tables of proscription.[38] These men, as irreconcileable enemies to the Cæsarean party, were subjected to military execution. Antony resigned to death his uncle; Lepidus, his brother; and Octavius, the man whom he once professed to love, and whose talents and virtues he never ceased to revere. His sacrifice of Cicero is represented as reluctant and painful; but Antony was inexorable; the orator's life must atone for the philippics which he had pronounced: this condition was indispensable; rejected, Antony declared that the conferences must end[39]: Octavius, from interested policy, encountered eternal infamy; for the works of Cicero, the source of intellectual pleasure and lofty sentiment, will for ever brand his sordid cruelty. The proscription once begun, was carried farther than the authors of it intended. Rapacity and private vengeance multiplied executions; and Italy, especially Rome, was left for several days at the mercy of a licentious soldiery. Trampling on all besides, the triumvirs were solicitous solely about binding their troops by every present indulgence, and every alluring prospect. It was determined, therefore, in addition to other advantages bestowed on them, that, at the con-

[38] Appian. Dion. Plutarch. in Anton. Velleius, l. ii. c. 65.
[39] Plutarch. in Anton. Conf. Dion. l. lvii. p. 331. et seq.

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clusion of the present war, they should be put in possession of twenty of the finest districts of Italy, and hold them in perpetual property, without the smallest regard to the rights of former owners.[40]

Octavius's war with Sextus Pompey. Olymp. clxxxiv. 3. B. C. 42.

After these arrangements in common, the triumvirs separated their forces, Lepidus, with the smallest division, remaining in the administration of Rome. Antony marched to Brundusium with a view to cross the Hadriatic against Brutus and Cassius. Octavius purposed in due time to follow him, but meanwhile proceeded to the opposite coast of Italy, that he might suppress on that side, two very considerable enemies. The first of these was Cornificius, propretor in the Roman province of Africa, who, holding his commission from the senate, refused to resign it to the officer whom the triumvirs sent to supersede him. After a long resistance against Octavius's lieutenants, Cornificius was defeated and slain.[41] The men of any name in his party either put themselves to death, or took refuge in Sicily. In this island, the standard of the republic had been raised by Sextus, the surviving son of Pompey. Amidst the conflict of parties, after Cæsar's murder, Sextus, who had long wandered an exile in Spain, was reinstated in the possessions of his family, exceeding in value four millions sterling[42]: he was even entrusted with the important

[40] Plutarch. in Anton. Conf. Dion. l. lvii. p. 351. et seq.
[41] Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. iv. & Dion. l. xlviii.
[42] Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 75. Cicero, Phillippic. l. xiii. c. 5.

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authority of prefect on the western coast. The fleet committed to him in this character, he was diligent to augment: it rendered him master of Sicily, and was employed by him during the rage of the proscription, in saving many who escaped to the sea-coast from the dagger of assassins. To dislodge this enemy from Sicily, Octavius advanced to Rhegium: his lieutenant, Salvidienus, was defeated in a naval engagement[43], and Pompey, confident in his superiority at sea, defied the twenty legions of his adversary.

State of the eastern provinces, Olymp. clxxxiv. 2. B. C. 43.

In this posture of affairs, Octavius was urged by Antony to join him with all possible expedition. The rich possessions in Asia formed incomparably the most valuable portion of the empire, and the storm gathering in that quarter, required, he said, their united and immediate exertions to dispel it. Brutus and Cassius, indeed, since their obscure flight from Italy, had been carried on a tide of uninterrupted prosperity. In consequence of his long and splendid employment in the East, particularly his signal service in repelling the Parthians from Syria, the name of Cassius sounded high with the legions in that and the neighbouring provinces. With another description of persons of no small weight, the fame of Brutus was unrivalled. The Greek cities, both in Europe and Asia, were frequented by young Romans of distinction, who there prosecuted those refined studies in which Brutus excelled, and heard the professors of that lofty

[43] Dion. & Appian.

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philosophy which Brutus had reduced to practice. In the ashes of Athens, a new fire began to kindle; Cæsar was branded as a tyrant worse than Pisistratus; and the statues of Brutus and Cassius were placed above those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton.[44] The contagion seized the neighbouring cities: it spread from Greece to Macedon, from Macedon to Asia. Trebonius, who commanded in the last-named province, supplied Cassius with money and troops: Hortensius resigned Macedon to Brutus: to the same leaders the quæstors in the inland parts brought the revenues under their charge, and the cities on the coast afforded the use of their shipping. The veterans of Pompey, still numerous in the countries which had been subdued by him, particularly Syria, flocked to a standard raised to avenge the cause of that long-admired chief. Cassius thus assembled twelve legions in Syria, and Brutus half that number in Macedon: a vast convoy was also captured near Demetrias, bringing back, by orders of Antony, the arms and stores which Cæsar had provided for his purposed expedition against the Parthians. Caius Antonius and Dolabella had been respectively appointed, as mentioned above, to the governments of Macedon and Syria. Caius had scarcely entered his province, when he was made prisoner by Brutus.[45] He was committed to the custody of Hortensius, and afterwards

[44] Cicero, Phillippic. l. x. c. 4. et seq. Ad Brutum. l. ii. 7.
[45] Plutarch. in Bruto.

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put to death by Brutus's orders, to avenge the execrable murder of Cicero. Dolabella's proceedings were as capricious as his mind was unprincipled. He had been destined, though under age, for the consulship by Cæsar. He warmly approved the assassination of his benefactor; yet insisted on the ratification of all the usurper's acts, because among them was his own appointment to office. He thus became colleague to Antony, who gained him to his views, by transferring to him from Cassius, the rich government of Syria. On his way thither, supported by a fleet and army, he surprised Smyrna, and slew Trebonius, governor of the province, with shocking circumstances of cruelty.[46] Having advanced into Syria, he made an unsuccessful attempt on Antioch, where the gates were shut against him. He was admitted, however, into the maritime city Laodicæa, where, trusting to promised aid from Cleopatra, he purposed to make a vigorous defence; but being blocked up by sea and land, and finding Cassius, through a conspiracy of the garrison, ready to enter the place, he withdrew by a voluntary death from the just vengeance of his enemies.[47] Cassius, thus master of Syria, purposed to invade Egypt, that he might punish the hostility of Cleopatra, and raise heavy contributions on her kingdom.

Cruel exactions of

The affairs of the friends to liberty were in

[46] Cicero, Phillippic. l. xi. c. 2, 3.

[47] Dion. Appian. Cicero, Epist. Familiar, l. xii. c. 13. 15.

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Brutus and Cassius there. Olymp. clxxxiv. 2. B. C. 43.

this happy posture in the East, when they learned the complete triumph of the opposite party in the West, and the bloody proscription with which it had been accompanied. Upon this intelligence Brutus, who had sailed into Asia to co-operate with Cassius, strongly urged their immediate return into Italy, that they might deliver what yet remained of the republic, from the hands of merciless assassins. But unfortunately Cassius was of a different opinion. Among the troops which both of them commanded, were many who had served under Cæsar: these men, unless gratified in all their hopes, might revolt to the enemy: they had large arrears due to them; the rich cities of Lesser Asia lay at their mercy; some of these, amidst the dissensions of Rome, affected independence; others had recently aided the audacious Dolabella: it would be imprudent to return into Europe, while such enemies remained behind in Asia; on which pretence, waving for the present his expedition against Egypt, Cassius concerted with his colleague, as a readier expedient for raising money, the exaction of heavy contributions from all those places in Lesser Asia, which had either opposed their views, or appeared lukewarm in their cause. In this manner an army, raised professedly to support liberty, was employed in measures stamped with the cruellest tyranny.[48] From the province of Asia, once forming the little kingdom of Pergamus,

[48] Appian. l. iv. c. 62. et seq. & Plutarch. in Bruto.

the revenues of ten years were extorted in a single payment. The plunderers spread over the whole peninsula, and accumulated in particular places in proportion to the resistance which their enormities provoked. A great fleet, as well as army, was necessary for the reduction of Rhodes, which indignantly submitted to Cassius. Xanthus, long head of 23 confederate republics in Lycia, was assailed with equal vigour by Brutus. It stood a long siege, and retorted in desperate sallies the evils inflicted on it. At length exhausted and hopeless, the Xanthians set fire to their city, and perished by their own hands in a general massacre. Shortly after, Lentulus, commanding the fleet which had recently acted against Rhodes, gained the Lycian city Andriaca, by breaking the chain which stretched across its harbour; and being, in consequence of this success, reinforced by a Lycian fleet, set sail to the well-known strait between Abydus and Sestus, to wait the land forces and assist in their transportation from Asia into Europe.[49]

Octavius and Antony cross the Hadriatic. Olymp. clxxxiv. 3. B. C. 42.

During these transactions the conduct of Cleopatra bore a doubtful aspect. She had purposed to give powerful assistance to Dolabella, but the swift destruction of that audacious man frustrated her design; and Serapion, her viceroy in Cyprus, had, in contempt of her authority, joined forces with Brutus and Cassius. She sailed with a great fleet, to assist Octavius and

[49] Appian. l. iv. c. 62. et. seq. & Dion. Cassius, l. xlvii.

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Antony in transporting their troops from Brundusium to Epirus, but had not long left the harbour of Alexandria, when stormy weather obliged her to put back with much loss by shipwreck. Murcus, a republican admiral, who had been stationed at Tenarus the southern cape of Peloponnesus, in order to intercept Cleopatra in her voyage to Italy, hearing of the queen's return into port, immediately steered, with 100 ships, for Brundusium, that he might obstruct the embarkations there. He arrived, however, too late for this purpose. The triumvirs, anxious to remove the war at a distance from Italy, where their recent cruelties had created many enemies, had already sent the greater part of their force across the Hadriatic: Octavius and Antony availed themselves of a favourable gale to follow, in spite of Murcus now reinforced by fifty gallies under Ænobarbus, an intrepid commander. Meanwhile Brutus and Cassius, having arrived on the coast of Thrace, reviewed their army near the bay of Melanes, which washes the eastern side of the Chersonesus. In foot, they mustered about 80,000: their cavalry exceeded 20,000; the latter consisting wholly of foreigners; Thessalians, Illyrians, Galatians, Arabs, and even 4000 Parthians. The triumvirs, who by this time marched through Macedon to encounter them, were equally strong in foot: but they had only 13,000 horse. The review near the bay of Melanes, concluded with a speech from Cassius, worthy, as it is handed down to us, of being

Brutus and Cassius review their army.

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pronounced to Roman citizens in arms, in the happiest times of the republic.[50] The generous sentiments which it breathed, might touch the noble Romans who were present, many of them persons of consular and senatorian dignity. But the praise of those institutions which once rendered their commonwealth great and happy, could not be highly relished by strangers who had long smarted under the Roman yoke: nor could the prospect of equal laws and impartial freedom delight soldiers of fortune, corrupted by indulgence, and inured to rapine. Their feelings were more alive to the liberal donatives of their generals from the spoliation of Asia: donatives unseasonably bestowed, since they disqualified those enriched by them from combating on equal terms a poorer enemy.

Proceed to Philippi. Olymp. clxxxiv. 3. B. C. 42.

It was the object of Brutus and Cassius to proceed directly through the well-known route of Ænos and Doriscus, and thus to pass the mountainous frontier of Thrace into Macedon. But they found the ordinary passes which led into the rich plain between Philippi and Amphipolis already occupied by advanced parties of the enemy. By Rhascupolis, however, a Thracian chieftan who accompanied them, they were conducted through circuitous tracts to the neighbourhood of Philippi, a city opposite to the isle of Thasos, and distinguished on former occasions, in this history. It stood ten miles north of Neapolis, regarded as its harbour;

[50] Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. iv. c. 90. et seq.

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and thirty miles east of Amphipolis a famous Athenian colony. Brutus and Cassius, it was to be expected, would immediately have fallen on the advanced guard of the enemy, which, under Saxa and Norbanus, had possessed itself of the ordinary passes. But these generals had been joined by Rhascus, brother to Rhascupolis. The two Thracians had concerted to secure an interest with both parties, that whichever prevailed, they might be themselves safe, since he who happened to espouse the winning side, would easily, it was hoped, procure pardon for his brother. By timely intimation from Rhascus, Saxa and Norbanus fell back to Amphipolis; where they were quickly reinforced by the army under Antony, for Octavius was detained by sickness at Dyrrachium.[51]

First battle of Philippi, and death of Cassius. Olymp. clxxxiv. 3. B. C. 42.

Meanwhile Brutus and Cassius fortified two camps on rising ground, between Philippi and Neapolis. The former place was on their right. Their left was flanked by a marsh extending to the sea. Neapolis afforded a safe harbour for their shipping. The isle of Thasos served as a magazine for the surplus of their provisions and stores. In this secure position, masters of the sea, and amply provided with every accommodation, they bade defiance to invaders, whose circumstances were in all respects less favourable. Antony had taken post at a mile's distance, in a low situation, overlooked by the enemy, and in a district

[51] Dion. Appian.

liable to torrents from the hills; an evil the greater, as winter was fast approaching. When joined by Octavius, imperfectly recovered from indisposition, they formed two camps; Octavius opposing himself to Brutus, and Antony to Cassius. The country behind them had been already foraged, and provisions were to be obtained only by the sword. The urgency of their affairs required an immediate decision, and for several weeks they employed various expedients to provoke the enemy to battle. The marsh itself was pierced, a work of vast labour, by one party, but the passage made in it was traversed by the other. If Brutus and Cassius had continued thus to act on the defensive only a few days longer, the invaders must have retreated in disgrace. But the soldiers were intoxicated with the good fortune that had hitherto attended them, and in haste to enjoy the riches which they had accumulated in Asia. In consequence of their impatient clamours, a general engagement was fought, in which Brutus, having repelled his opponents, penetrated to the camp of Octavius; and Antony, with equal success, penetrated to the camp of Cassius. In both scenes of the battle, the loss was great on the side of the repulsed. Cassius lost eight, and Octavius sixteen thousand. The victors, Brutus and Antony, instead of following up their advantage, being equally anxious to learn the fortune of their respective colleagues, returned about the same time, and passed each other on the field. In this manner Brutus ap-

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proached towards an eminence overlooking Philippi, where Cassius had rallied and taken post, and from which he dispatched Titinnius, a centurion, to bring him intelligence of the enemy. Titinnius was speedily involved in a squadron of Brutus's cavalry, which rapidly advanced with him towards Cassius. This just discomfited general believing Titinnius in the hands of enemies, and the whole irretrieveably lost, presented his breast to the sword of Pindar, a Greek slave, and died. Titinnius, reproaching himself as the occasion of such fatal precipitancy, accompanied Cassius in death; Brutus arrived shortly afterwards to hear the sad story. On viewing the dead body of Cassius, "this," he said, "was the last of the Romans." [52]

Murcus and Ænobarbus capture a great convoy with reinforcements to the enemy.

Brutus, having sent the body of Cassius to Thasos for private interment, to avoid, as inauspicious, a public funeral, spared no pains to restrain the boiling passions of his followers. Their loss in action was less than that of the enemy. Where Brutus fought, they had completely conquered. They insisted on again meeting their opponents, that they might no longer endure their proud insults. Meanwhile an event happened, which made Octavius and Antony more anxious than ever to engage. On the day of the former battle, a great convoy from Brundusium had been taken or destroyed by Murcus and Ænobarbus. The transports conveyed two entire legions, with many squa-

[52] Plutarch. in Bruto.

drons of horse, and auxiliary infantry. They were escorted by 17 stout gallies, which the soldiers in the transports endeavoured to support in fight, by grappling with the enemy's vessels, and thereby obstructing their motions. But they were repelled with great dexterity, especially by burning darts; the troops, taken, swore allegiance to Brutus and Cassius. Domitius Calvinus, who commanded this ill-fated embarkation, after being five days at sea, returned to Brundusium with his single vessel. [53]

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Second battle of Philippi, and death of Brutus.

The news of this event which, with the one army, enforced the necessity of a speedy decision, filled the other with an unseasonable ardour. Brutus reluctantly abandoned the certain advantages which must have resulted from a prudent delay. He only exhorted his men to render illustrious by their valour a victory, the fruits of which their alacrity obliged him prematurely to gather. In this second battle, which was fought twenty days after the first, neither the primary arrangements nor the subsequent movements are described. [54] The field was long

[53] Appian. & Plutarch. in Bruto.

[54] The battles at Philippi, as they decided the great cause between republicans and imperialists at Rome, were deformed by fictions and inconsistencies, to which the spirit of party naturally gave birth. The contradictions of contemporary authors, incapable of being moulded into any probable narrrative, reduced future historians to the necessity of expatiating on circumstances, striking indeed in themselves, but common to most ancient battles: the pomp of religious ceremonies, the harmony of mingled music, the fury of close assault, fierce confused murmurs breaking now into shouts of victory, and now into cries of despair. Conf. Dion. Appian. Plutarch. ubi supra.

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disputed with obstinacy, and with great slaughter on both sides, until the troops recently defeated under Cassius, began gradually to give way. Their retreat, at length manifest, disheartened the rest of the army, while the few who had engaged in this warfare on principle, exerted all the heroism which glory and liberty inspire. Among the Romans of dignity, who defied death in the thickest ranks of the enemy, historians mention the nephew of Cassius, the son of Lucullus, and the son of Cato. Brutus, mindful of his duties as a general, should seem to have intended to rally the fugitives on the heights behind his encampment. But soon learning that the rout was general, and that his party was closely pursued by Antony, he presented his breast to the sword of Strato of Edessa, a literary friend who accompanied him; and who reluctantly performed the act of kind cruelty required at his hands, lest the office, which he had declined, should be executed by a slave.[55] Thus died, in his thirty-eighth year, Marcus Brutus, the philosopher and patriot, whose character we before delineated, and whose real merits have always been very differently appreciated: being the unfortunate champion of a good, at least a popular, cause, he acquired, and is ever likely to maintain, his full share of renown.

Surrender of the republican army—

The great army, which he commanded, was either cut in pieces, or surrendered to the conquerors. Octavius and Antony thus augmented

[55] Plutarch. in Bruto.

their legions by the number of 20,000 men. The various squadrons belonging to the enemy assembled in the Hadriatic, under Murcus and Ænobarbus. The former of these admirals, with more than half the combined fleet, sailed towards Sicily, and there joined Sextus Pompey; but Ænobarbus scorned to acknowledge for a superior, a man to whom he avowed dislike, both on account of his hereditary arrogance, and of his personal ferocity. He therefore kept his station with upwards of fifty gallies in the Hadriatic, ready, as he declared, to co-operate with every one, who, by persevering in hostility to the triumvirs, approved himself a friend to his country.[56]

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separation of the fleet.

Meanwhile the victorious triumvirs divided their spoils, consisting in armies and provinces, with little regard to the interests of Lepidus, their absent and unequal colleague. In the former division of the empire, the two Spains, together with Narbonnese Gaul, had been assigned to the exclusive authority of Lepidus. But the two Spains were now claimed by Octavius, and the Narbonnese Gaul was demanded by Antony: the other countries comprehended under the name of Gaul already acknowledged his jurisdiction. If Lepidus prepared to resist, with any vigour, the injury done to him, it was agreed that he should be pacified by a grant of the Roman province of Africa. Octavius, still labouring under bad health, prepared to return

Division of armies and provinces between the conquerors. Olymp. clxxxiv. 3. B.C. 42.

[56] Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. v. c. 2. et seq.

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into Italy, that he might establish the victorious veterans in the districts assigned to them in that country. Antony chose, for his department, the settlement of the eastern empire. His more uninterrupted exertions against the common enemy, entitled him to reap the richest fruits of victory. In the contributions, however, which he levied, the legions bearing the name of Octavius on their shields were to have their due share. Two of these legions prepared to accompany Antony to the East; Octavius was to receive two legions in return, then serving in Cisalpine Gaul. Having thus adjusted their mutual pretensions, they recorded their compact in writing, exchanged duplicates, and repaired to their several destinations; Octavius crossing the Hadriatic into Italy, and Antony the Hellespont into Asia. [57]

Proceedings of Antony in Asia. Olymp. clxxxiv. 4. B. C. 41.

The routes pursued by these generals did not differ more widely than did their future employments and their opposite lines of conduct. Antony's progress in Asia was a safe and inglorious triumph: Octavius's undertakings in Italy were accompanied with difficulty and extreme peril. At the head of a victorious army, the former found it easy, in the exhausted and humbled provinces of the East, to trample on religion and government, on all rules of justice, on all feelings of shame or remorse. The inhabitants of ancient Greece, and particularly the Athenians, he distinguished with some symptoms of

[57] Dion. l. xlviii. p. 357. et seq. Appian. l. v. c. 1. et seq.

egard, in consideration of the glory of their ancestors. In Lesser Asia and Syria, a few places, recently ruined by Brutus and Cassius, were repaired; but the general course of his proceedings was equally cruel and contumelious. At Ephesus, long regarded as the capital of Ionia, he was met by ambassadors from free cities, and by deputies from all the districts that formerly composed the kingdom of Pergamus. From his imperial tribunal, he told them that he had come into the East chiefly with a view to levy money for armies amounting collectively to 400,000 men. That his colleague Octavius had gone to Italy, that he might provide the veterans of these armies with settlements; in other words, that he might transplant the cultivators of Italy, and make a total revolution in the state of its landed property. "As for you, Greeks of Asia! you shall be treated more favourably; your farms shall remain unviolated, you shall enjoy your houses, temples, and the honoured tombs of your ancestors. But you must compensate for these indulgences by large pecuniary contributions. To the murderers of Cæsar, who was always your friend and protector, you advanced in two years the revenues of ten; we shall be contented with demanding the same sum, provided it be paid in the course of one year." The deputies and ambassadors heard this with dismay. One bolder than the rest told him, that it would be impossible to comply with his requisition, unless he had the means of creating in one year ten seed times

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and ten harvests. After the humblest supplications of the deputies, some of whom prostrated themselves on the ground, assuring him, that, to make former disbursements, much plate, and even many sacred ornaments, had been already coined into money, Antony abated somewhat of the exorbitancy of his demands: he consented that instead of ten years, the revenues of only nine should be raised, and that the space of two years should be allowed for collecting them.[58] Arrangements of a similar kind were made with the sacerdotal principalities scattered over Lesser Asia, with the allied kings on the eastern frontier, and with those cities which the Romans still mocked with the name of freedom.

Artists in the service of Bacchus.

In the estimate of pecuniary resources, Egypt was not to be overlooked; and in the triumvir's progress eastward, Cleopatra had been desired to meet him in Cilicia, that she might explain the ambiguities above-mentioned in her conduct. This at least was the ostensible reason for demanding her attendance. But Antony, when he served in Egypt under Gabinius, had been wounded by the premature charms of Cleopatra, then in her twelfth, but now in her twenty-ninth year, and well entitled, by her attainments, to regard a meeting with such a man as a sure triumph, both from his personal character and the notorious confraternity by which he was accompanied. In the free raillery which he permitted to the companions of his revels, Antony finding

[58] Plutarch. in Anton.

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that they described his faults truly, believed them equally sincere when they flattered. Intoxicated by the incense offered to him, he assumed the character of the god of wine and pleasure, and as such was attended by a society long known among the Greek cities of Asia under the name of artists in the service of Bacchus.[59] They consisted of players, machinists, musicians, gymnastic combatants, jugglers, and and all sorts of showmen. In the idle and voluptuous cities of Lesser Asia, these were the great amusers of the people at the sacred fairs and other public assemblies. Their strolling parties were joined by many who, though not themselves artists, were professed lovers of such arts; who frequented the sacred groves, who held nocturnal revels in temples, who united most criminal pursuits with the idle frolics of mirth and mummery. The whole scenical train had incorporated itself into an order or community which assembled successively at Teios, the festive birth-place of Anacreon; at Ephesus, Myonnesus, and Lebedus. Antony adopted this congenial tribe for his own. Its members, chiefly, engrossed his favours; and notwithstanding his promise just made to the convention at Ephesus, that he would be content with money alone, the estates and elegant mansions of many wealthy landholders in Asia became the boon with which

59 Οι περι τον Διονυσον τεχνιται. Plutarch. in Anton. p. 942. Conf. Athenæus, l. v. p. 212.

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merciless tyranny rewarded frontless impudence and unblushing profligacy.[60]

Antony a prey to the wiles of Cleopatra. Olymp. clxxxiv. 4. B. C. 41.

Cleopatra, duly informed of these proceedings, came indeed with rich presents to soothe the angry triumvir, but came at the same time in a shape more likely to extort tribute. Her appearance was that of Venus wafted up the Cydnus to Tarsus, that she might frolic with the new Bacchus. Poetry has copied faithfully from history a scene which cannot by fancy be embellished: the galley of Cleopatra, resplendent with gold in the stern, its sails of Tyrian purple, the silver oars moving with sweet symphonies, the queen of love reclined in her tissued pavillion; the Cupids, Graces, and Nereids by whom the goddess was attended, and by whose delicate hands her soft barge was navigated. A voluptuous perfume, which diffused itself on both sides the Cydnus, announced her arrival: Tarsus was deserted; even the tribunal of Antony, then giving judgment in the market-place. Bacchus and Venus mutually visited and entertained each other[61]: and from this time forward the triumvir, forgetting his dignity, his family, and his country, surrendered himself the willing slave to a harlot, whose dominant passions were ambition and vengeance.

His cruelties and depredations.

Her prospective cruelty had consigned to an early tomb Ptolemy *Junior*, her destined partner in power. Her sister Arsinöe, whom

[60] Plutarch.

[61] Plutarch. in Anton. p. 942. & Athenæus, l. iv.

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Olymp. clxxxiv. 4. B. C. 41.

Cæsar had spared, was now torn from a temple at Miletus, because she had once presumed to be her rival. Serapion, the disobedient viceroy of Cyprus, was dragged from the altar of Tyrian Hercules: the Aradians were compelled to surrender a youth who had personated her unfortunate brother Ptolemy Dionysus.[62] According to the will of Cleopatra, Antony constituted friends or enemies to Rome, displaced governors, superseded generals, plundered the staples of commerce, and violated the temples by which they were protected. On this side the Euphrates, Palmyra still formed one of the principal links of communication between India and Lesser Asia, between the dominions of Parthia and those of Rome. From the banks of the Orontes, a body of Roman cavalry was sent to surprise a place, which carrying on commerce between two jealous empires, deserved the good will of both. But the Palmyreneans prepared for their defence: ready caravans transported their most valuable effects to the left bank of the river: the invaders returned with mortification from strong walls, containing nothing within them to justify the dangers of an assault.[63] Careless of this disgrace, Antony put his troops into winter quarters; and as Cleopatra had returned to Alexandria, hastened to join her in that city. There, he lived many months divested of all ensigns of authority, habited now

[62] Appian. l. v. c. 9. Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4.
[63] Appian. Bell. Civil. l. v. c. 9.

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as an Athenian, now as an Alexandrian citizen, treating Cleopatra as his queen and sovereign, yet requiring her frequently, as his mistress, to participate with him in his drunken debaucheries; and the shameless orgies that accompanied them.

Proceedings of Octavius in Italy. Olymp. clxxxiv. 4. B. C. 41.

While the master of the Roman dominions in the East thus exhibited his worthlessness in a manner as undisguised as ever was done in succeeding times by the worst and basest of the emperors, Octavius was called to the performance of a very different part in Italy; a part demanding the united exertions of craft and courage. He returned to Brundusium with half the army that had conquered at Philippi, upon the declared design of settling the veterans belonging to that army, and others yet unrewarded, who had served under Julius Cæsar, in about twenty of the richest districts in Italy.[64] The undertaking was highly invidious: Octavius still laboured under the same infirm state of health in which he had left Macedon: his mind, however, was vigorous; his judgment, sound; his diligence, indefatigable: and he had most useful counsellors and coadjutors in Agrippa and Mæcenas; the one in military, the other in all civil affairs. Abetted by an army accustomed to domineer, and now flushed with victory, Octavius commenced successfully his odious task, and entertained hopes of bringing it to a speedy conclusion, when a bold opposition

[64] Appian, l. v.

arose to him from a quarter the least to be suspected. CHAP. XXIX.

Antony had sent into Italy a confidential agent named Manius, a man of intriguing ambition, who sought to make himself of importance with his superiors by fomenting their mutual jealousies. He had connected himself with Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who had participated in all her husband's ostentatious dissoluteness, when he was vicegerent to Cæsar; in all his execrable cruelties, when he became triumvir with Octavius; who had learned, under the incendiary Clodius, her first husband, every art calculated to inflame popular discontent and delude the credulous multitude. With Manius and Fulvia was confederate Lucius Antonius, the triumvir's surviving brother, and now holding the office of consul, which, since the establishment of the first triumvirate, had been a mere titular dignity, but to which Lucius, a man of a high mind and sanguine temper, expected, through his credit with the triumvir Marcus, to restore its pristine splendour.[65] Octavius was greatly perplexed by the machinations of persons so intimately connected with his partner in the empire. When, according to his written agreement with Antony, he desired that two legions should be resigned to him, in return for an equal number bearing his own name on their shields, which had passed with that general into Asia, Fulvia and her abettors found means

His opponents there.

[65] Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. Appian, l. v. c. 12. et seq.

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to elude his just demand. They maintained also that Antony, or themselves as his representatives, should participate in the satisfaction and honour of settling the veterans in the lands allotted to them. In support of this claim Fulvia ventured to appeal to the army itself. Sometimes in a military garb, sometimes as a mother bearing with her Antony's young children, she paraded through the military quarters, demanding justice for her husband. Jealousies were thus sown between the soldiers of Octavius and those of his absent colleague. The life of the former was often exposed to danger. Lucius Antonius, in quality of consul, made great levies through Italy. The troops devoted to Antony in the different divisions of Gaul and Spain, under Pollio and Plancus, Canidius and Ventidius, were put in motion; and, at the prospect of a new civil war ready to break out between the triumvirs themselves (the weakness of Lepidus condescending to act in abject dependency on Octavius, who was present), the republican party in Italy began once more to revive; while the communities and districts whose lands had been occupied, or which were on the point of being wrested from them, arraigned the injustice and cruelty of driving them from their possessions: "if their fields were to be usurped, compensation ought at least to be made to them in money; lands throughout all Italy, not districts partially selected, should be assigned to the veterans: each proprietor should yield his fair

proportion, or all landholders be compelled to cast lots, and submit to the equal decision of fortune." To vindicate these just claims, many crowded to Rome, demanding support for themselves and families; others had boldness to repel by force those who sought to divest them of their paternal acres; the labours of husbandry ceased; and to accumulate the public distress, many parts of the western coast were ravaged by Sextus Pompeius from Sicily, and of the eastern by Domitius Ænobarbus, still cruising in the Hadriatic. By such means, the vast populousness of Rome was deprived of the necessaries of life. The rents of houses fell more than one-half in value: many streets were totally deserted.[66]

War of Perusia. Olymp. clxxxiv. 4. —clxxxv. 1. B. C. 41—40.

Meanwhile a war of the fiercest nature raged in Perusia in Tuscany, a strong city in the very centre of Italy. Octavius was compelled to take the field against the consul Lucius Antonius, while his lieutenant Agrippa opposed the armies, on the side of Gaul, expected to join that magistrate. Ventidius and other generals commanding these armies, suspecting, however, that the measures of Lucius were not altogether conformable to the will of his brother Marcus, made little haste to bring assistance to the former. Lucius, therefore, at the head of six legions, threw himself into Perusia. Octavius besieged the place, repelled many bold sallies, blocked it up on all sides, and finally reduced it to famine. In the

[66] Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 509. et seq.

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struggle between himself and the representatives of his absent colleague, the greater part of the soldiery indeed adhered to him, but many noble and wealthy Romans had embraced the opposite party; and above four hundred persons, of senatorian or equestrian rank, had thrown themselves with the consul into Perusia. They had discerned the resolute ambition of Octavius, and thought that usurped power might be more easily wrested from the unsteady hands of the Antonies, or that such men might be more easily moved to resign it.

Its strange and horrid termination. Olymp. clxxxv. 1. B. C. 40.

The famine in the garrison had reached the utmost extremity[67], and the multitude of dead bodies threatened to produce a pestilence, when Lucius, attended only by two lictors, proceeded towards the camp of the besiegers. Upon intelligence of his approach, Octavius hastened beyond the rampart to meet him. Their conference was private, but its substance is preserved in one of those extracts which have come down to us from the commentaries of Octavius[68], under his higher name of Augustus. Lucius began by observing, that if he had fought in a bad cause, or against an ignoble enemy, he should have withdrawn himself by a voluntary death from the humiliation of a surrender. But he had taken arms for the sake of Rome and of his hereditary dignity, against a patrician not less illustriously de-

[67] Velleius, l. ii. c. 74.
[68] Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. v. c. 45.

scended than himself, though boasting Hercules for his progenitor.[69] Neither the anger of Fulvia, nor the intrigues of Manius, nor the complaints of families divested of their landed property, had instigated him to the unfortunate contest, in which he was foiled, not through want of valour or perseverance, but by famine only. "I wish," he said, "to be clearly understood; it would be now vain to dissemble. My purpose was not to defeat the claims of the veterans: I myself have established many of those deserving men in the districts assigned them. Neither was it my ambition to defeat you, Cæsar! that I might succeed to your power. My sole object was to illustrate my consulship by destroying the tyranny of the triumvirate; by restoring the hereditary aristocracy of Rome, the jurisdiction of legal magistrates, and the authority of the senate. Into a concurrence with this measure, I doubted not to be able to persuade my brother; and therefore used freely against himself, the whole weight of his name and of his power. My adherents are guiltless of any such design: on me let the whole weight of your resentment fall." Octavius replied, "My resentment is disarmed by this voluntary surrender, for I have now to consider not what my enemies might justly suffer, but what it will be most graceful for me to do: the latter consideration preponderates, on account of the gods, myself, and you, Lu-

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[69] Conf. Plutarch. in Antonio.

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cius! that you may not be disappointed in the expectations formed of my clemency."[70] The army of Octavius interceded for that of Lucius, which joined the standard of the conqueror. But the magistrates of Perusia, together with the Roman senators that had been shut up with them in that city, being regarded as peculiarly hostile to the cause of Octavius and the veterans, were committed to strict custody; and on the following ides of March, upwards of three hundred of them were, by an act of horrid superstition, sacrificed to the manes of Julius Cæsar.[71] It had been intended to gratify the soldiers with the spoils of the place, which had made such a fierce and almost frantic resistance; but Perusia was set on fire by the desperate rage of its own citizens, and entirely destroyed: the temple of Vulcan alone escaped the fury of the flames.[72]

Octavius master of the West, with the exception of Sicily and Venetia. Olymp. clxxxv. 1. B. C. 40.

The events of this short war of Perusia crushed the hopes of Antony's partisans in Italy, the seat of empire; and in the great provinces of the West; Gaul, Spain, and Africa. Several commanders attached to him were deserted by their armies, some armies were deserted by their generals. Part fled to Sextus Pompeius in Sicily; the far greater crossed the Hadriatic into Greece. The former route was pursued by Julia, the aged mother of Antony; the latter by his wife Fulvia. In this ge-

[70] Appian. Plutarch. in Antonio.
[71] Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. & Sueton. in August. c. 15.
[72] Dion. ibid. p. 365.

neral trepidation of those dependant on him, his cause, however, was still supported by Asinius Pollio, who collected a considerable force in the district of Venetia. Amidst the marshes of that remote corner, Pollio bade defiance to Octavius; and greatly benefited Antony's affairs by procuring for him an alliance with Ænobarbus, still commanding a great fleet in the Hadriatic.[73] With the exception of Venetia and Sicily, Octavius was acknowledged in the West; throughout which division of the empire he commanded armies, levied contributions, appointed or superseded all magistrates or generals. The vanity of Lucius Antony was flattered with a nominal command in Spain, and detached from the cause of his brother by this empty honour; for he was accompanied by five lieutenants, who watched his actions, and controuled his measures.[74] About the same time, some bodies of men of doubtful fidelity, amounting collectively to seven legions, were sent under Lepidus into Africa.[75] In this quarter, their defection would be of small importance in the struggle which must soon take place between the rival triumvirs.

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Before intelligence of these distressing events reached Antony, he was withdrawn from his idle pleasures in Alexandria, by disasters more deeply affecting that neighbourhood. Orodes, king of Parthia, had learned from Palmyrenean

Parthian invasion of the eastern provinces. Olymp. clxxxv. 1. B. C. 40.

[73] Dion Cassius, Appian. Velleius, l. ii. c. 76.
[74] Appian. l. v. c. 54. [75] Ibid. c. 53.

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merchants, the cruelties exercised by the triumvirs over all nations on their side the Euphrates.[76] But Orodes was determined to an invasion of the Roman provinces in Asia, chiefly by the representations of Labienus, son to a general of that name, who had served under Cæsar during his wars in Gaul, but who had deserted him in the civil war.[77] The son, animated by equal love for the republic, had been sent by Brutus and Cassius to treat for assistance from the Parthians; and, after the defeat of his friends in the battle of Philippi, still continued to reside at the court of Orodes, with whom he had obtained much credit as a counsellor.[78] Labienus informed his new master of the Perusian war in Italy, of the discontents, amounting almost to rebellion, in the eastern provinces of Rome, of the scandalous and careless life of Antony in Alexandria; on all which considerations, he recommended the present as the fittest time, for retorting the injuries of the Romans by the invasion of Syria and Lesser Asia. The advice was acceptable to Orodes, and still more to his son Pacorus, destined heir to the crown, a prince generous and brave; and who, from his earliest youth, had been at once the pride of the king, and the darling of the people.[79] Clouds of Parthian cavalry began to move westward; Labienus and Pacorus were their generals. An

[76] Appian. Histor. Parthic. Conf. de Bell. Civil. l. v. c. 9.
[77] Plutarch. in Cæsar. & Pompeio
[78] Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 371. Florus, l. iv. c 9.
[79] Dion Cassius, l. xlix. p. 404.

irruption so powerful and unexpected was not to be resisted in Syria. Many of the soldiers in that province having served under Brutus and Cassius, joined Labienus, the now victorious friend of those patriots. Saxa, bearing authority from Antony, slew himself. The Parthians made many captives, ravaged the open country, plundered treasuries and temples. From the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean, they diffused their ravages to the western shore of Lesser Asia. Caria, in the farthest corner of that peninsula, paid dearly for its resistance by the sack of Mylassa and Alabanda. Stratonicæa, in the same district, was defended by the strength of its walls; and Tyre in Phœnicia had been saved by its insular situation: for the Parthians were unprovided with ships, and unprepared for sieges: strong cities and islands afforded, therefore, a refuge to the Romans, and the unhappy provincials who adhered to them, or rather, who dreaded subjection to still more relentless conquerors.[60]

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Civil war prevented by Antony's marriage with Octavia. Olymp. clxxxv. 1. B.C. 40.

Antony was informed, almost at the same time, of his ruined interest in Italy, and of the devastation of that part of the empire which he had chosen for his peculiar province. With a fleet of two hundred sail, belonging to himself or Cleopatra, he proceeded with all haste to Tyre. The recovery of Syria and Lesser Asia, he found, must be a work of considerable difficulty. He determined to postpone the under-

[60] Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. [illegible]. Conf. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 23.

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taking, especially as he received at Tyre most lamentable letters from his wife Fulvia. He sailed to meet her in Athens, and is said to have reprimanded her severely, as well as her coadjutor Manius, for embroiling his affairs in Italy. Fulvia was capable of any enormity, but her proud heart could not brook reproach. She retired in bad health to Sicyon, and died there soon afterwards.[81] Antony, meanwhile, reinforced by part of his troops from Greece and Macedon, met his new ally, Ænobarbus, in the Hadriatic. Sextus Pompey also sent to him his mother Julia from Sicily; and was earnest to gain his friendship, that they might unite their arms against Octavius. But as no declared breach had yet taken place between Antony and his colleague in the triumvirate, he declined any formal alliance against him. He thanked Pompey, however, for the proposal; and for the kindness which he had shown to his parent. Octavius was equally circumspect: he prepared to defend Brundusium and other sea-ports, not against Antony, but against Ænobarbus. But these demonstrations of jealousy were at last construed into equal hostility to both. Antony made descents on the coast, and having occupied several places of less strength, laid siege to Brundusium: all the rage of civil war was thus likely to be again rekindled, when the flames were suppressed by the cautious coldness of the soldiers on either side. From the licence

[81] Plutarch. in Anton.

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in which they were indulged, and the flatteries with which they were courted, the Roman legionaries had discovered the secret of their own importance; they had learned to reason and to calculate: Octavius had the stronger army; Antony was the better general; the secure benefits of peace out-balanced the hope of augmenting them, on either side, by the chance of victory. The death of Fulvia, which became known at this time in Italy, seemed an event highly favourable to a reconcilement between the triumvirs. Fulvia had been the main promoter of dissension; but as one woman had occasioned disunion in the empire, there was another well qualified to restore concord. This was Octavius's sister, recently a widow by the death of her husband Marcellus, a woman of exquisite beauty, endowed with every shining accomplishment, yet admired for her severer virtues as the pattern of Roman matrons. By the marriage of Octavia, Antony sealed his accommodation with her brother. According to their contract, Lepidus was left in possession of Africa. The western provinces of Europe were to remain under the jurisdiction of Octavius: Antony was to govern all the countries eastward[82] from the Illyrian city Scodra, a place well known to the readers of this history.

Naval power of Pompey—alarmingly distressing

The Parthians and Sextus Pompey formed now the only dangerous enemies to the empire. As the Parthians, in their irruptions on this side

[82] Dion. Appian. & Plutarch. in Ant.

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to the triumvirs. Olymp. clxxxv. 1. B. C. 40.

the Euphrates, had in view rather depredation than conquest, it was expected that the hurricane having spent its force, the effects of it might easily be repaired. Levies, however, being made for the Parthian war, were, until Antony should return to the East, committed to his lieutenant Ventidius, a man well qualified to employ them to the best advantage. The ravages of Sextus Pompey were matters of nearer concern, and deeply affected every part of Italy, but most of all the capital. Pompey commanded above three hundred gallies. His squadrons were of the boldest description, manned chiefly by Greeks, and under skilful commanders of that nation: Menas, Menecrates, Democharès, and Apollophanes. In addition to Sicily, he had possessed himself of Sardinia and Corsica, islands in that age of much importance, especially the former, on account of its abundant crops of corn, which made it one of the principal granaries of Rome. He had occupied the small islands near Italy; he had seized fastnesses in that country; the whole coast was subject to his ravages; commerce was entirely at a stand; and Rome, always dependant on foreign supplies, suffered greatly for want of bread. [83]

They make peace with him on his own terms.

Under these circumstances, the triumvirs turned all their thoughts to the suppression of Pompey. Their cavalry could have trampled

[83] Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. v. c. 15. et seq. Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 375. et seq.

him down; the tenth part of their legions was fit to overwhelm him; but they wanted means to cope with him at sea, to assail his strong-holds, or even to approach them. To provide instruments for such a war, heavy taxes were imposed on the score of ship-money. The Romans, scarcely able to purchase bread, murmured against these new burthens. In the games of the Circus, the pageant of Neptune, with his controuling trident, reminded them of the naval ascendency of Pompey; who had assumed that emblem of maritime sway, and thrown aside the imperial purple to cloath himself in a sea-green vestment. The spirit of sedition spread from the citizens to the soldiers. The statues of Octavius and Antony were thrown down; even their lives were in danger: and, as mutinies in their respective armies had recently reconciled the triumvirs with each other, a general insurrection of the people now produced the reconcilement of both with Pompey. Shortly before this time, Pompey, as we have seen, had done good offices to Antony; and Octavius, fearful that these might terminate in an alliance betwen them to his own prejudice, had concerted with Mæcenas the means of defeating such a project. For this purpose he sent back Clodia, whom he had betrothed, the daughter of Antony's wife, by her first husband Clodius, and married Scribonia, sister of Scribonius Libo, father-in-law to Pompey, thereby creating suspicions between his rivals, and conciliating Pompey to himself. In conformity with the public

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Olymp. clxxxv. 2. B. C. 39.

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will, and with minds not altogther hostile, the three chiefs met on the coast of Campania, and held repeated conferences at Puteoli and Misenum; the triumvirs, attended by their respective legions, and Pompey by his fleet. At the last of these meetings, all differences were done away. Pompey, in addition to the territories which he held, was to obtain possession of Achaia, a name then comprehending the greater part of Greece; the exiles under his protection were to regain their country, and the fourth part of their forfeited property. In return, he promised to restore freedom to navigation, and to supply Rome with corn. In making this arrangement, the parties met on a platform erected on piles in the sea, and communicating on one hand with the shore, and on the other with Pompey's galley. The news of a final adjustment was received with acclamations from a vast crowd of spectators, who rejoiced in the restoration of public tranquillity, and warmly sympathised with the embraces of those friends, who being ranged on opposite sides in the civil war, had long been debarred from the sight of each other. The chiefs mutually exchanged invitations to celebrate the feast of peace; and agreed to decide by lot which of them should give the first entertainment. Fortune favoured Pompey; who, at receiving his guests on board, said briskly, this ship is now my Carinæ, alluding to his father's house[84] in Rome, actually the pro-

[84] It stood in a street of Rome, called Carinæ. Varro. de Ling. Latin. l. iv. c. 8. Horace, 1 Epist. vii. v. 48.

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perty of Antony. Before the entertainment closed, Menas[85] above-mentioned, as the boldest of Pompey's captains, whispered in his ear, let me cut the cable, and your rivals are no more. Pompey replied, "this might have been done without consulting me, but my faith must remain sacred, I cannot violate hospitality."[86]

Peace in the West — Ventidius defeats the Parthians. Olymp. clxxxv. 2. B. C. 39.

After the adjustment of some lesser matters, particularly Pompey's share in the nomination of consuls and other magistrates, long become mere titular honours, that chief, now at once the admiral and purveyor of the commonwealth, sailed towards Sicily; while Octavius and Antony returned to Rome, where, united by the conciliating virtues of Octavia, they conducted public affairs with great harmony. During upwards of twelve months spent in this manner by the triumvirs, there were petty wars among the vallies of the Pyrennees, and in Dalmatia; and Ventidius, Antony's lieutenant, delivered the eastern provinces from the Parthians. Flushed with their past success, the invading cavalry ventured to fight twice on unfavourable ground, first among the ridges of Taurus that overhang Cilicia, and next at the Syrian gates. They were defeated on both occasions with great slaughter; and the Parthian retreats being as sudden as their attacks, Pacorus hastened across the Euphrates with the remains of his discom-

[85] This Menas, of whom more will be said hereafter, is the subject of Horace's keen invective. See Ode iv. Epodes.

[86] Dion. Cassius, ubi supra. Plutarch. in Anton.

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fited army: Labienus, his coadjutor, was made prisoner, and perished in captivity. [87]

Antony's follies — animosities between Octavius and Pompey. Olymp. clxxxv. 3. B. C. 38.

Antony meanwhile crossed the Hadriatic to govern in person that division of the empire peculiarly belonging to him. He was accompanied by Octavia to Athens, where he received the news of Ventidius's victories. Such intelligence, at a place which had been the scene of former follies, and among a people so well calculated to encourage and foment them, overset the lightness of his mind: he resumed his character of Bacchus, in which he again committed every extravagance: at the same time he levied cruel contributions on Achaia; and, on the ground of arrears due to him, refused, before their entire liquidation, to surrender the province, as in compact bound, to Pompey. This chief happened also to be set at variance with Octavius. The latter, before his twenty-fourth year, had in his matrimonial connections been twice guided by interest. To cement his friendship with Antony, he had betrothed Clodia: to divert the hostility of Pompey, he had married Scribonia. But in his choice of a third partner of his bed (though Scribonia had born to him a daughter named Julia, afterwards so famous for her gallantries and her misfortunes), he was guided by inclination only. Livia Drusilla was the daughter of Livius Drusus, and the wife of Tiberius Nero; both of them declared adversaries to the Cæsarian party, and the latter of

[87] Dion. Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 560. et seq.

whom had returned to Rome only in consequence of the indemnity recently granted to exiles. Livia had already born her elder son Tiberius, destined to empire, and was six months pregnant of his brother Drusus. With the consent of her husband, Octavius espoused Livia; and, to make way for this connubial tie, which on his part lasted in kindness and confidence through life, repudiated Scribonia, the kinswoman of Pompey.[88] Besides this cause of disgust, the compact between these chiefs was ill observed on either side: Sicilian cruizers still retained lurking-places on the coast of Italy: the foreign traffic of Rome, particularly the importation of corn, was still subject to interruptions; some pirates who were taken, denounced Pompey as their abettor; and the revolt of Menas brought growing animosities to a crisis. This man probably judged his master unfit for empire, from the time that he was hindered by him from cutting the cable, and making Antony and Octavius his prisoners. Whatever might be his motive, whether this or some new disgust, or merely the capricious perfidy of his nature, he certainly brought over to Octavius the island of Sardinia and a fleet of sixty gallies.[89] His enormity could not be extenuated; but restitution was demanded in vain, though the late compact had never been rescinded. Ever since that transaction, Octavius had strenuously exerted

[88] Sueton. in August. c. 62. Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 10.

[89] Dion. Appian. Orosius, l. vi. c. 18.

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himself for the increase of his force by sea as well as land. The accession, brought to his fleet by Menas, seemed to put him in a situation to invade and conquer Sicily.

War of three years between them. Olymp. clxxxv. 3. —clxxxvi. 1. B. C. 38—36.

In this manner a war, chiefly naval, was kindled and carried on three years with many vicissitudes of fortune. In the course of it Menas twice revolted, once to Pompey and again back to Octavius. The first object of the triumvir was to bring round to Rhegium, or the Straits of Messina, his squadrons that had been equipped in the harbours of Tuscany and Magna Græcia. Pompey's army bore no proportion to his own. The only difficulty was to land on the island. This required many transports, and the protection of numerous gallies. In the attempt to assemble a sufficient force at Rhegium, various actions were fought, in which Pompey and his Greek captains generally prevailed, notwithstanding the defection of Menas, who signalised his skill and prowess on the side of the enemy. The losses sustained by Octavius, both in the battle and by shipwreck, required the labour of more than a twelvemonth to repair. Many thousands of slaves were manumitted, and carefully trained to the labour of the oar; and, as much inconvenience had arisen from the want of shelter on the coast of Campania, Agrippa, who delighted in works at once magnificent and useful, formed the Julian harbour, by uniting the bay of Baiæ with the lakes Avernus and Lucrinus, thus converted into secure basins.[90] At the

same time Antony, whose assistance had been repeatedly craved by his colleague, landed at Brundusium, and having received two legions for his Parthian expedition, of the ill-success of which we shall speak hereafter, reinforced Octavius's fleet with an hundred gallies. Lepidus also, still a nominal sharer in the triumvirate, was required to co-operate in the warfare; and obeyed the more willingly, because Pompey's cruisers had recently infested his government, the Roman province of Africa. It was determined, therefore, that Sicily should be invaded at once on its three sides: on the shore nearest Africa, by Lepidus; on the eastern coast, by Statilius Taurus; and on the northern, by Agrippa. The last-named commander gained a sea-fight near Mylæ, where the tide of success was completely turned against Pompey, and thirty of his ships were destroyed. Lepidus made a descent in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum: Octavius attended in person the landing of part of his forces on the shore of Tauromínium. Through the movements which followed, Pompey was driven towards Messina, at the northern corner of the island. In this neighbourhood his whole force was assembled, except a detachment under Plennius, which had ineffectually guarded the coast of Lilybæum against Lepidus. CHAP. XXIX.

Fearful of being obliged to cope with a far superior army, Pompey challenged Octavius to Sea-fight in the bay

[50] Dion. Cassius, Appian. Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. cxxiii.

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of Naulochus. Olymp. clxxxvi. 1. B. C. 36.

a sea-fight. The challenge was accepted, it is said, through shame, though the battle was fought on both sides by proxies; Agrippa on that of Octavius, Democharès on that of Pompey. The scene appointed for the combat was the bay of Naulochus, between the promontory of Phalacrum and that of Mylæ. Six hundred gallies engaged; the two admirals were equally zealous, but they were very differently seconded by the captains serving under them; and the battle is chiefly memorable for the very inefficacious resistance on the part of a fleet which had long rode the seas in triumph. Agrippa lost only three ships; whereas the whole of Pompey's gallies, except only seventeen that fled towards Messina in the beginning of the action, were stranded, sunk, burnt, or captured.[91] The sea-fight was beheld from the hostile encampments near Naulochus. Pompey escaped from that place, without leaving orders for his army, and hastened to Messina, where, embarking in a vessel provided for him, he sailed to Mitylené in Lesbos, an island much indebted to his father. He had himself resided there in his youth; and from thence, twelve years before this period, had been carried after the battle of Pharsalia, to witness, as above-mentioned, his father's cruel murder at sea, near the coast of Pelusium.

Octavius sole

Pompey's forces in Naulochus being in haste to surrender on terms, Plennius's detachment

[91] Appian. Dion. Orosius, l. vi. c. 18.

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came too late from Lilybæum to be included in the capitulation. Plennius therefore threw himself for safety, with seven legions, into Messina. Agrippa, with part of his fleet, occupied the harbour; Lepidus was at hand with the whole army which he had brought from Africa; Octavius was necessarily detained at Naulochus. Under these circumstances, Lepidus, notwithstanding remonstrances from Agrippa, who desired him to wait Octavius's arrival, received the submissions of Plennius, and thus incorporated that general's legions with his own. The great military force, of which he thus became master, inspired Lepidus, long the most obsequious of men, with a sudden fit of ambition.[92] He insisted that Sicily should be annexed to his own province of Africa, as both united were nothing more than an equivalent for Spain, which had been unfairly withheld from him. In urging such a pretension, Lepidus reckoned on the affections of his troops, which he had endeavoured to secure by allowing them to plunder Messina. His error was fatal to him. Armies were now become deliberative bodies, they calculated remote consequences, and upon a fair comparison of the rivals, sent a deputation to Octavius, begging to know whether Lepidus should be made prisoner, or immediately put to death. Octavius only deposed this unworthy child of fortune from his authority[93], and al-

master in the West. Olymp. clxxxvi. 1. B. C. 36.

[92] Velleius, l. ii. c. 80. Sueton. in August. c. 16.

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lowed him to return into Italy, where he lived afterwards in an obscurity suiting the mediocrity of his talents, after holding nominally a third share, for the space of seven years, in the dominion of the Roman world. Statilius Taurus was sent to replace him in Africa. Through the degradation of his contemptible colleague, Octavius became all powerful in the western part of the empire: besides his victorious fleet, amounting to 800 ships of war, he was at the head of 37,000 light-armed troops, 25,000 horse, and forty-five legions. Success, both by sea and land, sanctioned all his measures; and, at his return to Rome, he chose or rejected at pleasure among the innumerable honours that were offered to him. [94]

[93] Appian. l. v. c. 124. et seq. Dion. l. xlix. p. 398. et seq. Senec. Nat. Question. l. iv. in Prefat. vers. fin.

[94] Appian. Dion. Sueton. Oros. ubi supra.

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Successes of Antony's Lieutenants. — Extinction of the Asmonæan Dynasty. — Antony's upstart Kings. — Tragic Events in Parthia. — Antony's Parthian Expedition. — Projects and Death of Sextus Pompey. — Octavius's able Management. — His Military Expeditions. — Antony's Invasion of Armenia. — His extravagant Proceedings. — Battle of Actium. — General Submission to Octavius. — He invades Egypt. — Death of Antony and Cleopatra. — Confirmed Dominion of Augustus. — Reflections on the Ruin of the Greek Kingdoms — And Greek Commonwealths in their Neighbourhood.

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Follies of Antony — his lieutenant Ventidius defeats the Parthians. Olymp. clxxxv. 2. B.C. 39.

DURING Octavius's war of three years with Sextus Pompey, Antony had been kept on good terms with his colleague, through the winning virtues of Octavia, sister to the one triumvir, and wife to the other. The greater part of this time he had spent in Athens, never revisiting Alexandria, the scene of former follies. This change of place did not, however, alter his mind. He delighted in the amusements and licence of great cities, and the better to enjoy them would divest himself of imperial ensigns and cumbersome attendance, but again relapse capriciously into extravagant ostentation; assume the character of Bacchus, and, under the protection of that disguise, give free scope to every wild impulse

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of pride, anger, or voluptuousness.[1] In such a mad career he was enabled to indulge, without totally ruining his affairs, through the conspicuous successes of his lieutenants. Ventidius, in particular, after repelling the Parthians beyond the Euphrates, set himself to repair the effects of their invasion; but, before his work was complete, and he had either fortified weakness or conciliated disaffection, he was threatened with a new and more formidable irruption, again headed by Pacorus. To obtain time for mustering his forces and for inspiring confidence into the provincials, he had recourse to the following stratagem: Pretending to fear lest the Parthians, instead of passing the Euphrates at Zeugma, where the country was hilly and unfavourable to their cavalry, should descend the eastern bank of the river, and pour their resistless squadrons into the opposite plain, he industriously communicated this apprehension to Channan, a man of authority in Syria, and who, he well knew, secretly corresponded with the enemy. Channan apprised the Parthians of what Ventidius affected to fear, and which, accordingly, was the measure that they determined to carry into execution. The delay, occasioned by a long circuitous march, and the construction of a new bridge over a far broader part of the river, afforded time for assembling the flower of the legions, and of their auxiliaries in the Syrian district of Cyrrhus, the most warlike in

[1] Plutarch, in Anton.

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the province. The Parthians crossed the Euphrates, unopposed; advanced without meeting an antagonist; and emboldened by the apparent reluctance of the Romans to encounter them, entered the Cyrrhistic region in full confidence of victory. Pacorus, at the head of his cataphracts, having thus ventured to attack Ventidius's encampment, was slain in a sudden sally of the Romans, as efficacious as it was unexpected. A fierce combat ensued around the dead body of the royal general. The Parthians were defeated with great slaughter; those of them who fled towards their newly-constructed bridge, were intercepted, and put to the sword: a remnant of their mighty host found refuge with Antiochus of Commagene, in his strong capital Samosata.[2] While Ventidius marched thither to demand the fugitives as his slaves, the head of Pacorus was carried in solemn procession round the cities of Syria and Lesser Asia. This was not done through ostentation merely. On the western side of the Euphrates, Pacorus enjoyed the praise of justice and clemency, not less than of valour: by the most certain evidence of his death, it seemed necessary to destroy any hopes which the disaffected to Rome might yet entertain from the protection of his virtues.[3]

Antony in the East — Samo.

Antony, having received accounts at Athens of the first successes of Ventidius, hastily left

[2] Conf. Dion Cassius, l. xlix. p. 404. et seq. Appian. l. v. c. 65. et seq. Eutrop. Orosius.

[3] Dion. ibi

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sata ransomed. Olymp. clxxxv. 3. B. C. 38.

that city to eclipse or share his glory. Before he landed in Asia, he learned the death of Pacorus; and soon afterwards being informed that Ventidius had laid siege to Samosata, he dispatched orders that no capitulation should be granted, until he appeared in person before the place. He arrived; surveyed the strength of Samosata: the besiegers were ill pleased at being checked in their operations; they were offended by the mean jealousy which Antony showed of his lieutenant: and the triumvir being eager to revisit Athens and Octavia, with whose beauty he was at this time captivated, entered into a hasty composition with Antiochus, and allowed him to ransom his capital for 300 talents. The soldiers affirmed, that Ventidius had been offered a thousand: any complaints, however, on the part of that general, were prevented by his immediate dismission to Rome, to enjoy the honours of a triumph. He had slain Pacorus on the 9th of June, the anniversary of the Vestalia, precisely fourteen years after the defeat of Crassus; and he triumphed, at the distance of half a century from his first entrance into Rome among other captives, attending the car of Pompeius Strabo, at the conclusion of the Marsic war. [4]

Extinction of the Asmonæan dynasty in Palæstine.

While Antony resumed his wild amusements at Athens, his lieutenants continued successful in many parts of the empire. They quelled in

[4] Conf. Dion. ubi supra. Plin. N. H. l. vii. c. 43. Aulus Gellius, l. xv. c. iv.

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surrections among the Illyrians and Thracians, nations always ready for rebellion; they rivalled the victories of the Great Pompey in Iberia and Albania; and Sosius, having succeeded to Ventidius in the government of Syria and Cilicia, completed in those provinces the work of his predecessor, and cleared them of Parthian partisans.[5] Of these partisans the most considerable had been Antigonus, king of the Jews, a title abolished, as we have seen, by Pompey, but which Antony had revived in favour of Herod, a man related to the royal line only by marriage, and the son of Antipas, an Idumæan, of whose merits with Julius Cæsar we have before made mention.[6] Upon the last total defeat of the Parthians, Antigonus, whom they had lately reinstated in his birthright, made an obstinate resistance in Jerusalem, followed by a most abject submission. At the instigation of Herod, he was executed like the vilest malefactor, by the rods and axe of a Roman lictor.[7] In this unhappy prince ended the illustrious Asmonæan dynasty, after subsisting 129 years, if dated from the command assumed by Judas Maccabæus; and 126 years, if dated from the peace granted to the Jews as an independent nation by Antiochus Eupator.[8]

Olymp. clxxxv. 4. B. C. 37

About this time other nominal kingdoms were erected, for Antony was lavish of the royal title,

Antony's upstart kings.

5 Dion. l. xlix. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 27.

6 See above, c. xxviii.

7 Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. & de Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13.

8 Joseph. Antiq. l. xix. c. 28.

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through a capricious generosity to the instruments of his rapacity, or of his pleasures. Thus Amyntas, who had been a clerk in the service of Dejotarus, was declared king of Galatia; and Archelaus became king of Cappadocia, through the credit of his mother Glaphyré, a noted courtesan; while Darius, a reputed descendant of Mithridates, and Polemon, the son of a Greek rhetorician of Laodicæa, were adorned with the same magnificent appellation, and respectively set over Pontus and Cilicia[9]: they were the most expert and merciless collectors that the rapacious triumvir could employ.

Tragic events in Parthia. Olymp. clxxxv. 3, 4. B. C. 38—37.

Having committed the affairs of Asia to his lieutenants and tributary kings, Antony sailed from Greece into Italy, and sealed his last friendly transaction with Octavius, by lending him a powerful fleet to be employed against Sextus Pompey and Sicily. In the course of this visit to the seat of empire, intelligence from Syria required his presence in that country. Orodes, king of Parthia, had been supplanted by his son Phrahates, a fierce and crafty tyrant. The circumstances were peculiarly tragical. Orodes, in the extremity of old age, had shown himself inconsolable[10] for the loss of his son Pacorus, whom he had long destined for his successor, and by whom chiefly he had administered the government. His grief first appeared

[9] Plutarch. in Anton. Conf. Dion. l. xlix. p. 411.

[10] Justin, l. xlii. c. 4.

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in a lethargic insensibility to every object around him; and when he roused from his stupor, it was only to invoke the name of his beloved Pacorus, to address the dumb phantom ever present to his fancy, and then melt into tears of unutterable anguish. The interests of the crown required, however, that some one among his remaining sons should be appointed to wear it. He had thirty of them by different women, of whom those born to him by females of the house of Seleucus, seemed, from their maternal greatness, the best entitled to empire. Careless in his present state of mind of examining into nicer pretensions, he raised his eldest son to the throne, under the name of Phrahates IV. This tyrant quickly sacrificed his brothers to his resentment, and his aged father to his impatience of reproach. Even a son of his own, because on the verge of manhood, was the victim of his jealousy. He determined that none of the royal line should live, on whose head the Surena might presume to place the diadem. It should seem that this high office was then held by Monæses. He is called the chief of the Parthian nobles; he had fled with many persons of high quality into Syria, and Phrahates spared no pains to procure his return.[11] The kings of Parthia were held lawful, only when crowned by the Surena, and their government was unstable, unless sanctioned by that officer.

[11] Plutarch. in Anton. Dion. Cassius, l. xlix. p. 406.

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Antony's Parthian expedition. Olymp. clxxxvi. 1. B. C. 36.

Antony having left in Rome Octavia, who had already born to him two daughters, and was now in an advanced state of pregnancy, hastened to the field of glory which called him, purposing, amidst the distractions in Parthia, to execute his long meditated vengeance. But with his congenial inconsistency, he had sent before him his elegant[12] friend Fonteius Capito, to bring Cleopatra into Syria. Her meeting with Antony gratified strong passions on both sides: the lover had the person of his mistress, and the mistress had the grant of new territories in Syria and Cilicia, in Crete and Cyrené. Herod was in danger of being divested by her of his newly acquired kingdom; he yielded a part, and ransomed the remainder by large sums of money. In dalliance with Cleopatra, Antony consumed the most precious of possessions, time. The Parthians had leisure to assume a posture of defence: and Monæses, foreseeing nothing but ruin under so imprudent a leader, at length accepted the conditions of reconcilement offered him by Phrahates. Antony permitted his return, and even sent ambassadors along with him, hoping to deceive Phrahates by the proposal of a treaty. Meanwhile, with an army of 80,000 foot, and nearly 20,000 horse, he prepared to pass the Euphrates; but found the left bank of that river strongly guarded. His unseasonable delay in Syria had enabled the enemy to take this pre-

[12] Ad unguem factus homo. — Horace.

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caution: and Antony being as eager to return to Cleopatra as he had reluctantly parted from her, hastened to atchieve some splendid enterprise. Phrahates headed his forces in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, accompanied by the hereditary satrap, or king, of the Lesser Media. This satrapy, well known to the readers of the present history, contained the important strong-hold Praaspa, situate three hundred miles beyond the Araxes [13], an hundred miles south of the Caspian sea, and nearly as many due west from the Caspian Gates. If Antony should surprise Praaspa, furnished with a treasury, with magazines and arsenals, he would not only seize a prize valuable in itself, but gain a favourable position for invading, next campaign, the southern or Greater Media, the largest and finest province in the Parthian empire. Towards carrying into execution this design [14], he reckoned on the zealous co-operation of Artuasdes, king of Armenia, the old and hereditary ally of the Romans, and then actually at variance with the king of the northern or Lesser Media, who happened to bear the same name with himself. Antony, accordingly, proceeded by forced marches into Armenia. The king promised him, besides other assistance, a reinforcement of 16,000 ca-

[13] The Araxes was considered as the boundary between Armenia and this Lesser Media, otherwise called Media Atrapatena. Antony's Parthian expedition is strangely perplexed in our Roman histories, the latest of which confound the Lesser Armenia with the Greater, and the Greater Armenia with Media.

[14] Dion Cassius, l. xlix. p. 407. et seq.

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valry. Thus assured, he hastened to the Araxes, passed into northern Media, and, in the hope of gaining Praaspa by surprise, left his heavy engines to follow under Oppius Statianus.

He besieges Praaspa.

But rapidity formed the characteristic of Parthian warfare. Phrahates had come in force into northern Media. Statianus, with his escort of two legions, were surrounded, attacked, and entirely cut off. Upon the first alarm of their danger, Antony returned with a detachment to support them, leaving his main army before Praaspa. He found the field strewed with their dead bodies: no enemy was in sight; nor had the king of Armenia advanced with his promised reinforcement. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, Antony persisted in his design of making himself master of Praaspa: and, having assaulted it without success, began the siege in form, and persevered with obstinacy in the undertaking, until his foragers had exhausted all the neighbouring country. When reduced to the necessity of spreading themselves widely in search of food, they were surprised, and many of them cut to pieces, by the Parthians. Antony sent out stronger parties: on one occasion he came to a sort of general engagement with the enemy, and drove them apparently into such complete rout as flattered him with the belief of a decisive victory. But, on examining the result of the action, he found only fourscore Parthians slain, and thirty made prisoners. This battle being fought at a considerable distance from Praaspa, the garrison

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made a vigorous sally, and produced great ruin among the works of the besiegers.

The siege raised — disastrous retreat of the Romans. Olymp. clxxxvi. 1. B. C. 36.

The increasing difficulty in point of supplies, especially as winter approached, made it necessary to think of a retreat. An embassy was sent to Phrahates, who received it in the field, (for the imperial city Ecbatana was six days' journey from Praaspa,) seated on a golden throne, and holding in his hand a bent bow. He reproached the Romans with great bitterness, but, provided they ceased from hostilities, intimated his permission for them to depart unmolested. This, however, was far from his intention. The siege was no sooner raised, and the march begun towards Armenia and the Araxes, than the Parthians were in motion to harass the legions in flank and rear, to obstruct every difficult passage, to remove all corn and cattle, and to destroy, as much as possible, every supply of fresh water. Under these distressing circumstances, the Romans pursued a march of twenty-seven days to the Araxes, at the rate of fourteen miles daily; during which time they fought eighteen battles with the enemy, and lost above the fourth part of their army. Upon arriving in Armenia, Antony thought fit to dissemble his resentment against Artuasdes, to whose want of co-operation he chiefly ascribed his disasters. He needed this king's good offices towards facilitating his return into Syria, which he immediately commenced, though the districts in Armenia through which he had to pass, were then thickly covered with ice, and

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the cold was peculiarly painful to his wounded soldiers. Eight thousand of them are said to have perished in this unseasonable and hasty march, at the end of which, Antony, after braving every fatigue, and danger, and disgrace, met Cleopatra, at a place called Leucocomé, on the coast of Phœnicia; and returned with her to Alexandria, to dissipate his uneasy reflections amidst the show and riot of that voluptuous capital.[16]

Bold designs of Sextus Pompey. Olymp. clxxxvi. 2. B. C. 35.

How far this disastrous expedition had shaken his authority in Asia, appeared from an important transaction that almost immediately ensued. Sextus Pompey, after the battle of Naulochus, escaped, as we have seen, to Lesbos, an island with which he was connected in hereditary friendship. Momentous concerns, that will be explained presently, occupied Octavius, and prevented him from farther molesting a dispossessed and seemingly ruined adversary. But Pompey had carried with him considerable treasures from Sicily: he had been joined at Lesbos by the remnant of his discomfited fleet; with this he had been successful in his old trade of piracy: he had the merit of good offices with Antony; he had still the means of being useful to him; and, amidst the Parthian expedition, had sent to solicit that triumvir's friendship, and to promise a hearty co-operation in all his views. But, upon learning the complete miscarriage of Antony at Praaspa, and his disastrous retreat

[16] Plutarch. in Anton. Dion Cassius, ubi supra.

into Syria, Pompey conceived loftier hopes. The name of his father still sounded high in that and the neighbouring provinces. Many Romans, settled in the East, owed their establishment to the conqueror of Mithridates. The soldiers, who had served under that conqueror, viewed with partial favour the last remnant of his family; a family still dear to the Roman people. Actuated by such considerations, and stimulated by the natural audacity of his character, Pompey encreased his shipping, hired troops, and, instead of becoming an auxiliary to Antony, embraced measures for supplanting his power. The design was carried on with the boldness of a corsair, and the craft of a politician, who had long stood at the head of a party. Pompey's agents were busy among the Parthians, the most formidable enemies to Rome; among the Armenians, whose king had recently betrayed the interests of the triumvir; among the Thracians and Illyrians, nations ever turbulent and disaffected. Notwithstanding all this, he continued to negociate with Antony, who devoted to his passion for Cleopatra, still lingered in Alexandria, dissolved in sloth and pleasure. Titius, however, one of his lieutenants, was at length sent from that city, to make head against Pompey. He conducted for this purpose a great fleet from Egypt, and had orders to reinforce the soldiers serving on board it from the legions in Syria. Pompey, by this time, had collected his squadrons in the narrow seas, and had made himself

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master of the harbours of Lampsacus on the Hellespont and Nicomedia on the Propontis. He had penetrated with three legions into the inland parts of Bithynia, and gained its ancient capital Nicæa, on the lake Ascanius. Furnius, proconsul in the neighbouring province of Pergamus, had opposed him ineffectually, and suffered a considerable defeat. Thus victorious by land, Pompey flattered himself with still more brilliant success on the element which had so long been propitious to him.

Their failure—his death. Olymp. clxxxvi. 2. B.C. 35.

But, from these high hopes, though his army had much augmented in consequence of his victory over Furnius, an unexpected occurrence precipitated him into one of those fits of despondency to which he had become subject through his many and cruel misfortunes. Titius had scarcely arrived in the Propontis with one hundred and twenty sail, when he was joined in that sea by the fleet of nearly equal strength, which Antony, as formerly mentioned, had lent to Octavius. At sight of this combined armament, Pompey, in despair of combating it, set fire to his own ships. This frantic action caused the desertion of all his best friends, even his father-in-law, Scribonius Libo. While they surrendered to the enemy, Pompey, with the forces which still adhered to him, purposed to fly into Armenia, but being intercepted on that side, directed his course to the sea-coast, in hopes, it is said, of surprising and burning Titius's fleet. He was pursued by that commander, by Furnius, and by Amyntas the newly-

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made king of Galatia. Having fallen into the hands of this upstart, he was surrendered to Titius, and by him put to death at Miletus.[16] Thus perished obscurely the son of the Great Pompey, whose struggles for regaining his paternal greatness, illustrates, more forcibly than any thing in history, the advantages of an insular situation, coupled with maritime power; and their superiority, when fitly managed, to the greatest military force, or rather to the world in arms. But Pompey's successful enterprise was marred through want of wisdom; his capricious character, and ungovernable temper.

Octavius's able management. Olymp. clxxxvi. 2. B. C. 35.

During all this time, no open breach had taken place between Antony and his more prudent colleague. Octavius even dissembled at Rome the disasters in the Parthian war, and caused public rejoicings for the defeat and death of Sextus Pompeius[17], a name once formidable. By the expulsion of that chief from Sicily, and the deposition of Lepidus, he had obtained in the preceding year, undivided sovereignty in the West. The main danger to his government arose from the difficulty of managing his own instruments, consisting (besides a fleet of six

[16] Appian. l. v. c. 122. et seq. Dion. l. xlix. p. 402. et seq. In this transaction, Antony incurred much blame for his cruel orders; and Titius, for his forwardness in executing them, was, many years afterwards obstructed in his design of celebrating games in the theatre of the great Pompey; and under the necessity of slinking in disgrace from a solemnity, of which he defrayed the whole expence. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 79.

[17] Dion. l. xlix. p. 405.

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hundred sail, which from the humble pretensions of ancient seamen occasioned to him no trouble), of forty-five legions, with sixty thousand light-armed troops or cavalry. This great military force, which, though many legions were incomplete, exceeded 250,000 men, had been raised on different occasions, and served under various generals, most fighting for usurped power, some in the cause of the republic. The troops themselves were of various nations; Italians, Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans: they were persons also of very different conditions; Roman citizens, provincials, freedmen, and innumerable slaves; for all sorts of recruits had been accepted in times of relentless civil war. Before leaving Sicily, Octavius dismissed, with donatives from this body, about 20,000 veterans, the boldest in their pretensions, and the most sensible of their power to dispose of the empire.[18] At his return into Italy, he purged the army of another corrupt ingredient, if not the ablest to lead, yet the most likely to follow, in any scheme of sedition. The slaves, serving as soldiers, were to be secured, and all such as were claimed, to be restored to their masters.[19] As slaves exercising arts and manufactures constituted, in ancient times, the most important description of personal property, this reform benefited, in another view, the great designs

[18] Appian. Dion. Orosius.

[19] This business was executed with much caution. Sealed orders were sent to the different legions, and opened, all of them, on the same day.

which Octavius entertained, and which, thenceforward, he prosecuted with incomparable ability. Through his influence with his uncle's army, he had trampled on liberty and property. He now began to express extraordinary zeal for both: to re-establish and support the distinctions of civil rank; to maintain the inexorable impartiality of law; to protect and cherish peaceful industry. Comparing the calm, enjoyed under his administration, with the tempests immediately preceding it, the servile adulation of the Romans was converted into heartfelt praise; and both in the capital, and over the whole country, his effigy was worshipped among other revered idols of tutelary gods. No usurper, indeed, ever showed more dexterity than Octavius, in conciliating the interests of the public with those of his personal ambition. By convening the senate and people, and complying with the forms, and even with the spirit of a legal constitution, in all matters of private justice, he raised up a majestic and marvellous machinery, fitted alike for attack or defence. Having conquered law by the sword, he now, by the bare image of law, controuled and overawed his army. To uphold this delicate fabric was his great subsequent employment, and the skill with which he performed it, constitutes the merit of a reign, next to that of Alexander, the most glorious in history. The army was cleared of those parts which had a tendency to contaminate or inflame it, but not materially lessened in point of strength. This could not

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be done with safety, either to the empire, or to him who now aspired to become its sole master: for if Octavius, when he assumed the name of Cæsar, was checked by many formidable obstructions in his hope of succeeding to Cæsar's power, the lofty design became continually more practicable, and was about this time brought clearly within his reach, through the follies and vices of Antony; his own increasing fame and now maturer age; the uniform success attending him, contrasted with the recent disasters of his colleague; above all, the happy choice of coadjutors and friends, by whom his measures were abetted.

His military expeditions. Olymp. clxxxvi. 2, 3. B. C. 55—34.

The struggle was likely indeed to be a rude one; and the young Cæsar was careful to prepare for it, by keeping on foot a great army, and finding for the whole of that army perpetual employment. Wars were successively planned against the shores of Africa and of Britain; and the legions moved, for these purposes respectively, into Sicily and Gaul. On each occasion Octavius put himself at their head; but neither expedition took place, being alike interrupted by events on the side of Illyricum. As the honour of the state was concerned in maintaining the old, rather than in achieving new conquests, Octavius twice made war on the rugged and fierce nations inhabiting between the Hadriatic gulph and the Danube. Near the eastern shore of that gulph, he fought with the Dalmatians and Liburnians. He penetrated northwards into the woods of the Savi and Pannones, who

had infested, by bold incursions, the Illyrian dependencies of Rome. The strong-hold of Siscia, situate at the conflux of the Save and the Culpa, was defended by those barbarians both by land and water; and the river combats are memorable for the death of Menas, formerly a pirat under Sextus Pompey, and who now signalised his skill and valour in a humbler warfare, but under a far worthier master. He fell in a battle against the enemy's boats on the Save. Throughout the whole of these expeditions, Octavius's courage was conspicuous. He received many wounds through the fearless exposure of his person; and his firmness showed itself convincingly in the obstinate contention with the Japydæ, the most stubborn people in Liburnia. At the siege of their chief strong-hold Metulum, he was thrown down with the batteries which he had erected; but though dreadfully bruised in the ruin, he quickly renewed the assault, and made such determined exertions to prevail, that notwithstanding the presence of Agrippa, a general of consummate merit, to the energy and spirit of Octavius, are ascribed the high animation of his own men, and the intimidation of the enemy. The defenders of Metulum surrendered, and received a garrison; but repenting speedily of their surrender, they slew in the night the whole garrison which they had admitted. After this unpardonable enormity, they destroyed their wives and children, set fire to their houses, and pe-

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rished by their own hands: not a single prisoner consoled the avarice of the victors.[20]

Contemporary ones by his lieutenants.

Besides these Illyrian wars, which ended in most places by the reception of hostages, and the imposition of tribute, Octavius carried on others equally successful by his lieutenants. About this time he received the submission (we know not through what general) of the Salassi or Savoyards, the hardiest mountaineers in the Alps; and shortly afterwards Crassus, son to the unfortunate triumvir of that name, triumphed over the Mæsians and Bastarnæ, powerful and fierce nations on the Danube.

His policy and ministers.

But Octavius's success in arms was not to be his brightest glory. The fame of his policy far eclipsed his military achievements, whether in person or by his lieutenants. Upon his return into Italy, he was diligent in enacting equal laws and distributing impartial justice, and in the encouragement of every institution or usage which had a tendency to promote the well-being of the people, or encrease their enjoyments. His labours were ably seconded by Mæcenas, a man who never reached any higher condition than that of a Roman knight, in which he was born; and by Agrippa, who, though he had commanded and conquered as consul, submitted for the public benefit, to accept and exercise the far inferior functions of edile; to exhibit popular shows, to improve in size or conveniency the resorts for public amusements, to

[20] Dion. Appian.

repair the old aqueducts, or erect new ones. The clearing of the common sewers, which had been neglected during the civil wars, was numbered among the most respectable of his labours.[21] These works of the minister, redounded to the honour of the master. Octavius reserved for his own peculiar largess, the establishment of a great library. It bore the name of his sister Octavia, and was intended by him to perpetuate the remembrance of that excellent woman, whose virtues would have adorned the best ages of the republic.[22]

Antony invades Armenia, and makes captive king Artuasdes. Olymp. clxxxvi. 3. B. C. 34.

While Octavius and his coadjutors were acting like just and diligent stewards of the commonwealth, Antony displayed in the East all the capricious folly of a despot. Polemon, the son of a Rhetorician, one of his upstart kings, being made prisoner in the war against Phrahates the Parthian and Artuasdes the Mede, had the address to recommend himself to the latter of these princes, and completely to gain his confidence. He returned to Antony in Alexandria; told him that the Mede had taken umbrage at the injustice of the Parthian, many of whose provinces were ripe for revolt; and that assistance from the offended Artuasdes would be ready in any future expedition against Phrahates, or in chastising the Armenian Artuasdes, whose perfidy had been so fatally experienced in the late warfare. Pleased with this intelli-

[21] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 15.

[22] Dion. Conf. Plutarch. in Marcello.

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gence, Antony quitted his scenes of disgraceful riot, and having repaid the services of Polemon with the grant of Lesser Armenia (a strip of land on the right bank of the Euphrates) he hastened to Nicopolis in that district. At this city, he stood on the frontier of the kingdom which he came to conquer; and, to avoid the fatigues which might attend him in the invasion of so strong a country as Armenia, descended to the base duplicity of inviting its king to join him in Nicopolis; that they might seal their mutual friendship by a marriage between the daughter of that prince and one of his own sons by Cleopatra. When the Armenian, who had entered into a secret correspondence with Octavius, and who knew how indignant the Romans were at Antony's devotion to the queen of Egypt, declined obeying a summons intended merely to ensnare him, Antony invaded his country with a great army, advanced towards the capital Artaxata, and by operating alternately on the hopes and fears of the king, gained possession of his person. With an illusory respect, he confined him in chains of gold; and, in that state of captivity, carried him round the various castles and treasuries in Armenia, that he might exact contributions for his ransom. The commanders in many of these strongholds defended their walls with obstinacy; the Armenians flew to arms under Artaxias, a hereditary name, eldest son to Artuasdes: a fierce but short war ensued, in which Artaxias, being totally defeated, was compelled to fly into Parthia. Antony left his army in Armenia, and

returned to enjoy a triumph in Alexandria, not inferior in magnificence to any ever celebrated in Rome. Artuasdes, with his wives and children, (for Artaxias alone escaped the victor's grasp,) were required to prostrate themselves in presence of Cleopatra. But the Armenian remembered that he was son to Tigranes, the proudest king of the East; and scorned, for the sake of life, to prostitute his dignity. He and his whole family were condemned to close confinement, and destined to future execution.[23] CHAP. XXX.

His new designs on Parthia — Octavia repulsed by him. Olymp. clxxxvi. 4. B. C. 35.

The wildness of Antony's proceedings, when made known at Rome, gave much concern to his friends, and filled with grief the injured but ever dutiful Octavia. On the part of that admirable woman, the suggestions of personal pride were easily sacrificed to the quiet and safety of the empire. Having communicated the design to her brother, she determined to sail in quest of her husband, carrying with her, besides other valued gifts, 2,000 pretorian guards, with which she meant to present him. Her letters from Athens found Antony in Syria, to which province he had proceeded early in the spring, that in concert with his ally Artuasdes the Mede, he might invade Parthia, again torn by a civil war. In return for the kindness of her proffered visit, Octavia was enjoined not to proceed farther, Antony being on his march against the Parthians. He also rejected her presents. Thus repulsed, she

[23] Dion. l. xlix. p. 411. & 415. et seq.

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returned to Rome. Her brother desired that she would take up her abode there, with himself; but she continued to live in the house of her husband, carefully watching over the education of his children by herself and by Fulvia; and serving, by the utmost exertions of her interest, such of his dependants as had favours to solicit in the capital; a conduct infinitely more hurtful to Antony with the public, than female lamentation or the just vehemence of reproach.[24]

The Parthian expedition prevented through Cleopatra's artifices. Olymp. clxxxvi. 4. B. C. 33.

In the unworthy treatment of Octavia, his own natural profligacy was exasperated by the artifices of Cleopatra, who had accompanied him into Syria. At the name of that virtuous wife, the royal harlot sickened. She was found often in tears, which she dried up hastily, as if anxious to conceal them. Startled at Antony's approach, she pined in languor at his departure: every semblance was assumed of the deepest heartfelt love, and every contrivance was employed by her attendants to persuade the credulous voluptuary that his mistress's life was in danger. To prevent the threatened catastrophe, and dissipate the melancholy that might occasion it, the Parthian expedition was postponed; and the lovers returned to Alexandria, where Antony, in the character of the Grecian Bacchus, declared, in presence of a general assembly in the Gymnasium, his nuptials with the Egyptian Isis. A formal divorce was shortly afterwards sent to Octavia. Cleopatra, with Cæsarion, her

[24] Plutarch. in Anton.

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son by Julius Cæsar, were invested with the kingdom of Egypt, to be enjoyed in the utmost amplitude in which it had been held by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Of her sons born to himself, the elder, named Alexander, as destined to be king of Syria, appeared with the cloak and cap worn by the Seleucidæ; the younger Ptolemy, as destined to be king of Ariana or Parthia, was adorned by the Median robe and erect tiara, worn by the great kings of the East: for Antony affected not to entertain a doubt of his ability to subdue the Parthian empire, and to transmit that conquest to his posterity.[25]

Antony dismembers the empire in favour of Cleopatra and her progeny.

This solemnity, in which the dominions of Rome were dismembered in favour of a foreign queen and her adulterous progeny, completed the measure of Antony's insufferable outrages. The numerous friends, whom his long enjoyment of power still gave him in the capital, could not extenuate the enormity of his proceedings; they endeavoured to discredit or conceal them. Such was the mode of defence adopted by Ænobarbus and Sosius, then actually consuls, for Antony, as partner in the triumvirate, continued to exercise the right of conferring, in turn, all offices of magistracy. Sosius, not satisfied with denying the crimes charged on Antony, ventured to retaliate in accusations against Octavius: but the latter, having fixed a future day for proving the whole extent of his colleague's guilt before the senate, the consuls thought fit previously to

His offensive testament — he is deposed from the triumviral power, and war declared against Cleopatra. Olymp. clxxxvii. 1. B. C. 32.

[25] Dion. p. 416. Conf. Plutarch. in Anton.

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quit Italy, and were followed by many adherents to the same desperate party. Shortly afterwards, Plancus, with his nephew Titius, escaped from Alexandria to Rome. Plancus, as we have seen, was one of Antony's earliest abettors; and Titius was the person recently employed by him, in the murder of Sextus Pompey. Both these men quitted the triumvir's service through disgust at his folly, and gave information of a most obnoxious transaction, which they had unitedly witnessed. This was Antony's testament, to which Plancus and Titius had affixed their names, and which, for the sake of security, had been sent to Rome, and deposited with the vestal virgins.[26] Antony desired that, wherever he happened to die, his body should be interred in Egypt; and, in many other clauses, appeared to have totally divested himself of the feelings of a Roman citizen. It was thought fit, therefore, that his nomination to the office of consul should be annulled; that he should be deposed from his triumviral power; and that war should be solemnly declared, not, indeed, against himself, but against his queen and sovereign Cleopatra; the mistress who had enthralled his soul, the sorceress who had infatuated his understanding.[27]

[26] This deed was fraught with clauses more obnoxious than the destinations made in the late solemnity at Alexandria. Octavius desired much to possess himself of the original, although the secrecy of a testament was inviolable until the death of the testator: the vestals refused to resign their sacred deposit, intimating, however, to Cæsar, that he might come and take it. Plutarch. in Anton. Conf. Sueton. in August.

[27] Dion. l. l. p. 421.

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Octavius's grounds of quarrel with Antony were many and obvious. Antony complained in in his turn, that Octavius had not sent back to him the whole number of ships that he had borrowed for his war against Sextus Pompey, and that he had not given him his share in the spoils, either of this conquered enemy, or of Lepidus their deposed colleague. But whatever secondary causes intended to inflame animosity, it appeared to actors and spectators through every part of the empire, that the original source of discord was the jealousy of ambition, and the necessity of deciding between the two sharers of the empire, which of them should be master of the whole.[28] At the prospect of this inevitable warfare on the side of Europe, Antony, as if he had intended to secure every thing behind him in Asia, moved into his recent conquest Armenia, and on the banks of the Araxes confirmed his alliance with Artuasdes the Mede, by resigning to him part of Armenia, and taking in marriage his daughter Jotapé for Alexander the elder of his own sons by Cleopatra.[29] As many eastern provinces belonging to the Parthian empire were still in a state of insurrection, the contracting parties had purposed to avail themselves of this crisis for overwhelming the tyrant Phrahates IV. But news of Octavius's preparations made Antony hasten westward, after he had exchanged part of his infantry for some squadrons of the

Antony plunders Armenia, particularly the district Anaitis. Olymp. clxxxvii. 1. B. C. 32.

[28] Plutarch. in Anton. Conf. Dion. p. 419.

[29] Dion. p. 418.

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excellent cavalry, in which Artuasdes abounded. In his march through Armenia into Syria, his chief care was to collect money. Though the former country had submitted so completely that part of it had been bestowed by him on his Median ally, it was subjected to cruel exactions throughout, and the district Anaitis, containing the principal seat of Armenian commerce and superstition[30], was a prey to military rapine. Even the golden statue of the goddess was broken in pieces, and its fragments tossed carelessly among the spoil.[31]

Prepares to resist Octavius.

While he returned from the mountains of Armenia towards the Mediterranean coast, Antony sent orders to his lieutenants, and commanded the stipulated reinforcements from his tributary kings. Cleopatra needed not any summons. She met him in his progress into Lesser Asia, and undertook to assist him with two hundred gallies, with twenty thousand talents, and with corn to be conveyed by her transports for his whole army, wherever he might think fit to encamp. Accompanied by the queen of Egypt, he proceeded to Ephesus, which he had appointed for the rendezvous of his fleet: Canidius, the most favoured of his lieutenants, because the most subservient to the will of Cleopatra, was already in that neighbourhood at the head of sixteen legions.[32]

[30] See above, c. xxviii.

[31] Plin. N. H. l. xxxiii. c. 4. Conf. Strabo, l. xii. p. 559.

[32] Plutarch. in Anton.

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Forces on either side.

Meanwhile Octavius carried on his preparations judiciously and strenuously. The defeat of Sextus Pompey had raised his fleet to five hundred stout gallies, which he equipped in the most perfect manner, especially careful to keep the rowers in perpetual exercise. His army, which had been swelled to forty-five legions by the deposition of Lepidus, but which had been purged, as we have seen, from corrupt parts that threatened to infect the whole, may be computed at 200,000 men; of which nearly one half might be transported across the Hadriatic. Great as this force appears, it fell considerably short of Antony's[33]; whose gallies, besides being more numerous, were of much superior rates, with five, seven, and ten tier of oars; and who had the means of still augmenting his fleet from a wider amplitude of populous coasts and rich sea-faring cities. His legionary troops amounted to 100,000; and the contingents to be furnished by his tributaries and vassals, probably exceeded that number. But the greatest advantage on the side of the eastern potentate, for in that light the triumvir may be viewed, was his boundless resources in money; and the facilities for rendering them available, afforded by the arbitrary maxims that had long prevailed in his part of the empire. His immense treasures sufficed for every demand of the service by sea and land, and enabled him to transmit large sums into Italy, for disturbing the government of his rival:

[33] Dion. l. l. p. 422.

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whereas the greatest danger experienced by that rival flowed from the necessity of imposing a new war-tax: it consisted in a fourth part of the *income* of citizens by birth, and an eighth part of the *property* of freedmen, worth 50,000 denarii, about 1,500l.[34] Such were the discontents excited by this heavy impost, that Italy might have been invaded in a state of distraction, amounting almost to civil war, had the supine negligence of Antony allowed him to profit by the crisis.[35]

Antony's extravagant proceedings in Samos and Athens. Olymp. clxxxvii. 1. B.C. 32.

But, from the moment that he was joined by Cleopatra, the approaching conflict with Octavius became a secondary concern. Legions and squadrons were indeed ordered to their respective destinations, but the master who was to employ them, fixed his voluptuous abode in Samos, into which the new Bacchus, husband to the Egyptian Isis, collected only instruments of luxury and ministers of pleasure. While neighbouring coasts re-echoed the jarring sounds of military and naval preparation, this serene island breathed only soft amorous murmurs, or the nicely cadenced harmony of *artists in the service of Bacchus*. Instead of reviews and exercises of soldiers, or manœuvres and races of gallies, Samos exhibited religious shows and processions, intermixed with dramatic entertainments, and such frolicsome pastimes as are adapted to moments of peaceful and secure

[34] A Denarius is equal to seven-pence three-farthings.

[35] Plutarch. in Anton. Conf. Dion. p. 424, 425.

idleness.[36] To supply the perpetual feasts accompanying the sacrifices, the most distant provinces were charged to contribute whatever they respectively produced most rare and costly; a mandate, imitating the despotic arrangements of Assyrian and Persian kings, whose tribes of courtly menials were subsisted at vast expence, by commodities transported to them from all parts of the empire.[37] From Samos Antony proceeded to Athens, where he only varied the form of his follies. In this city he had formerly resided with Octavia, who had received from the real affections of the Athenians, those honours which other illustrious visitants derived from their flattery. But all preceding addresses of adulation were to be surpassed in the decrees presented to Cleopatra; of which her lover, in the character of an Athenian citizen, was the bearer.

Antony's fleet and army assemble — description of the Ambracian gulph. Olymp. clxxxvii. 2. B. C. 31.

From Athens, Antony was withdrawn by reports of hostile squadrons descried, it was said, near the isle of Corcyra. He sailed towards that island, but finding the alarm to have been occasioned by a few gallies sent out on observation, moved for the remainder of winter to the ancient Achæan city Patræ. Many of his ships had arrived in the neighbouring sea-ports of Peloponnesus. The legions under Canidius, reinforced by innumerable auxiliaries, had passed from Asia into Greece. As the season for naval

[36] Plutarch. in Anton. Conf. Dion. p. 424, 425.

[37] See above, vol. i. p. 289.

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operations approached, great part of the fleet and army assembled on the coast looking towards Italy, where the territories of Epirus and Acarnania are divided by the *Ambracian* gulph; a name derived from Ambracia, a very ancient free city, afterwards more renowned as the capital of king Pyrrhus.[38] This gulph, as it proceeds from the Ionian sea to the city Anactorium, is scarcely half a mile broad: it then swells to a breadth of six miles: it again narrows at the temple Actium, also in Acarnania; and beyond Actium, expands to a breadth of ten miles, reaching thirty miles inland from the open sea, and twenty from Actium. The whole Ambracian gulph, therefore, consists of two bays, and two straits: the inner bay is separated from the outer by the strait near Actium, and the outer is separated from the Ionian sea by the strait near Anactorium.[39] Antony's plan of the war is not to be easily explained: it seems to have been equally capricious with all the rest of his proceedings. His fleet was gradually assembled within the interior bay: a stout squadron anchored in the strait of Actium: his land forces, part of which was yet expected, encamped in Acarnania, on the shore immediately contiguous to the station of his fleet. His position was ill-chosen in point of salubrity. The sides of

[38] Polyb. l. xxii. c. 13. Conf. l. iv. c. 61.

[39] Thucydides, l. i. p. 57. Polyb. l. iv. c. 63. Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Scylax. From inattention to local circumstances, the historians of this battle are very obscure in their accounts, both of the action itself and of the movements preceding it.

the bay were marshy, and emitted pestilent vapours, by which both the fleet and army began to be great sufferers. Antony was seldom with either: he delayed to take the command in person, until the whole force should be collected: there was much relaxation in discipline: and the rowers in particular, a conflux from different nations generally pressed into the service, were indulged in the neglect of all healthy exercise, and thereby infected with every disease that indolence and profligacy can engender.

Octavius crosses the Hadriatic — his post near the enemy.

In this situation of the enemy, Octavius, whose fleets had been ordered to rendezvous at Brundusium and Tarentum, sent Agrippa with some choice squadrons across the Hadriatic. This able commander made successful descents on the coasts of Peloponnesus; possessed himself of the convenient harbour of Methoné; and captured a large convoy of victuallers from Egypt and Syria, steering for the Ambracian gulph. Having shortly afterwards returned to his employer, it was determined that they should put to sea with their united armaments, to give battle to the enemy. They sailed with 260 nimble gallies, and the numerous transports requisite for the conveyance of 80,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and all that ingenious apparatus which the arts of civil life supply for the service of war, when it is carried on with skill and energy. They arrived in the bay of Acroceraunus; and Octavius debarked on the same ground where his adoptive father had first landed, when he prepared to combat Pompey. The army marched southward

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towards the Ambracian gulph: the fleet coasted in the same direction; and in its way took possession of Corcyra, just abandoned by the enemy. Having proceeded within fifteen miles of the strait of Anactorium, the squadrons first anchored in Glycys-limen [40], the sweet harbour, so named because its salt waters were freshened by boiling springs in the sea, and by the conflux of the rivers Acheron and Cocytus. But this station they soon quitted for one nearer the enemy, called the harbour of Comarus. This is a creek which verges towards the inner and wider bay, leaving an isthmus between them six miles broad. On this isthmus, Octavius encamped at a place afterwards called Nicopolis, directly opposite to Actium. The situation was dry and elevated, viewing on one hand the bays of Ambracia, and on the other, the open sea and the creek Comarus.[41] This creek, Octavius had leisure to join by fortifications with his camp, his infatuated adversary employing no means to prevent a very dangerous lodgement in his neighbourhood. Without any rational motive, he seems to have resolved to keep on the defensive. His fleet commanded the strait of Actium: he had raised strongholds on both sides; and this strait, or rather the swelling inner bay behind it, was interposed

[40] Strabo, l. vii. p. 324.

[41] Dion Cassius, l. l. p. 426. Conf. D'Anville Mem. de L'Academie des Inscriptions, &c. vol. xxxii. p. 513. His information is chiefly derived from a map of the Ambracian gulph made by the Venetians.

between his camp and that of the enemy. In such situations both parties continued during the remainder of summer, the events which happened in the interval, being greatly unfavourable to Antony. The harbours, to which he trusted for supplies, were seized by Agrippa; his officers were defeated in partial encounters by sea and land: above all, the desertion was most alarming among persons of the highest rank, whether Romans or auxiliaries. CHAP. XXX.

From these difficulties a battle only could extricate him. His best officers exhorted him to avoid fighting by sea; but Cleopatra, on the contrary, recommended this measure. She was impatient, it seems, to return to Alexandria; and Antony knew no gratification equal to that of compliance with her will. He determined to accompany Cleopatra by the readiest way into Egypt, and to risk an engagement, should his passage be obstructed. In this design, his fleet was equipped either for a battle or a voyage: sails not usually employed in the former were taken on board; his whole treasures were embarked; his gallies, of superior rates, were at the same time equipped with all those warlike engines which their commanding loftiness would enable them, it was hoped, to employ with decisive effect. In his armament of 500 sail, there was not any scarcity of engineers or marines: his only want was that of rowers: a resolution was therefore taken of burning a hundred and forty of the least serviceable ships. They were those belonging to Egypt, which reduced the squadron Battle of Actium 2d September. Olymp. clxxxvii. 2. B. C. 31.

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supplied by Cleopatra to sixty gallies. The commotion and hurry occasioned by this measure apprised Octavius that the enemy meant to quit his station. He therefore prepared for battle, and committed the command to Agrippa[42]: under him, Livius led the right, and Arruncius the left wing. Antony also devolved the command on his lieutenants: Publicola, Sosius, Justeius. Octavius sailed within the strait of Anactorium; but stormy weather and a high sea which set into the gulph, prevented Antony during four days from venturing through the strait of Actium. On the fifth morning, his fleet formed in that strait, and, before noon, began to clear it. Upon observing this movement, Agrippa extended his front, in order to inclose the enemy; to avoid which danger, Publicola on his side also expanded so widely, that his wing was entirely separated from the centre. This movement brought other squadrons from the strait to support him, and the battle thus commenced in the outer bay about noon with equal spirit, but with great diversity in the mode of action. On the part of Octavius the vessels being nimble, and manned with able rowers, could exert the whole of their impetuous weight in wounding the enemy's sides, and sweeping away his oars. The loftier ships of Antony endeavoured to break the force of the assailants with long poles, or to seize them with grappling irons, in which event they were knocked in pieces

[42] Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 84.

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with hatchets, or overwhelmed with showers of javelins. In this manner the combat raged for two hours, when Cleopatra, who had viewed it from behind the line, darted through the midst of the combatants, and with crowded sail made all haste to escape from the bay into the open seas. Her vessel, being known by its purple sails and gilded poop [43], was followed by the sixty Egyptian gallies, to which she made signals for this purpose. Antony, also, followed her, and though his departure was known to both sides, the battle still continued with emulation, the combatants at sea being encouraged by the shouts of their respective armies on shore, that of Antony commanded by Publius Canidius, that of Octavius by Statilius Taurus. The strength and iron defences of Antony's quinqueremes and vessels of still higher rate, had blunted or broken the prows of the Liburnians and triremes by which they were assailed. Octavius, though fire might have been employed successfully against such large unwieldy vessels, delayed to avail himself of this expedient, because he was unwilling to lose the treasures and valuable effects aboard the hostile fleet. He thought fit, however, at length to have recourse to ignited weapons, and live coals darted from his machines; and by this means the action concluded with the destruction or capture of 300 ships, and 18,000

[43] Florus, l. iv. c. 11.

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of the enemy killed or wounded.[44] To secure the fruits of victory, Octavius remained all night on board.

General submission of armies and kingdoms to Octavius.

The battle of Actium[45] was fought on the second day of September, a day which historians particularise, because, from this victory, it was usual to date the years of Octavius's reign.[46] Antony's flight abandoned to him nineteen legions left under Canidius. For seven days, indeed, these legions rejected the terms offered them, during which time they received no message from Antony: their patience was put to a severe trial: orders at length arrived that they should march towards Macedon and Thrace, and thence pass into Asia: part of them remained in their camp; the greater number sorrowfully followed Canidius, who, upon hearing that those in the camp had made their peace with Octavius, escaped secretly from a growing defection, of which he must have become either the accomplice, or the victim. His deserted army accepted the liberal conditions offered to it: part reinforced the conqueror; the veterans, whose years of service had expired, were sent home to their rewards in Italy. The allies, or rather subjects of Antony, his lieutenants commanding in various provinces, and his tributary kings, were all alike forward to make their submissions to a far worthier master. Egypt alone offered a

[44] Orosius, l. vi. c. 19. Conf. Dion. & Plutarch. in Anton.

[45] The place is called Azio, and the temple of Apollo is replaced by a church dedicated to the Pan-hagia, the Virgin Mary.

[46] Dion. l. li. p. 442.

doubtful retreat to the vanquished triumvir; for, beyond the limits of that kingdom, not a partisan remained to him in any part of the empire, except a company of gladiators, who had been long in training at Cyzicus, to celebrate, by their bloody sports, his expected triumph. These men, whom the correctness or softness of modern manners classes with the worst of ruffians, maintained their allegiance with a high point of honour, and forced their way from the shore of the Propontis into Syria, where they were deceived by false promises, divided, and murdered.[47] CHAP. XXX.

His able management after victory.

Octavius's victory, however, was used with great mildness towards both Romans and provincials. Three of the kings created by Antony, he allowed to reign; Herod of Judæa[48], Archelaus of Cappadocia, and Amyntas of Galatia.[49] One of his first cares was to alleviate the scarcity, and to remove the oppressions, which afflicted Greece and neighbouring countries, recently occupied by the armies of his adversary, and a sport to their rapacity and cruelty. He resolved, indeed, to pursue Antony and Cleopatra, and to make conquest of Egypt, wonderfully enriched at the expence of neighbouring countries, by a woman alike insatiable in all her passions, and who had long trampled under foot the eastern and wealthiest division of the em-

47 Dion. l. li. p. 447.

48 Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 10. & de Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 2.

49 Dion. l. li. p. 443.

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pire.[50] But his haste to attain this great object did not betray him into the imprudence of his adoptive father, whose rash invasion of Egypt had nearly destroyed his life and his renown. The scenes which Octavius had experienced in the West, taught him that his greatest danger proceeded from the instruments of his victories. Agrippa had been sent into Italy, who, while Mæcenas carried on the civil government, might repress undue pretensions in the troops, and controul those fiery spirits always liable on success to blaze into mutiny. But this delicate task required the hand of the master himself; and the skill with which Octavius, now in his 36th year, performed it[51], sealed his future dominion over the world for the space of forty-four years.

Antony excluded from Cyrené and Paræto-nium.

A war of little difficulty remained for him in Egypt, the inhabitants of that country having no inclination to fight for the tyranny of Cleopatra; and Cleopatra showing, on every occasion, much readiness to betray Antony. That infatuated man having followed the queen, was received on board her flying galley; and some pity is excited for him, when we are told that for three days he rested on the prow, his face covered with the palms of his hands, in the deepest anguish. By this time he was joined by some ships of burthen, which brought news that his

[50] "Antony spoiled even the richest temples to gratify Cleopatra: the ornaments which he had lavished on this Egyptian harlot, Augustus restored to the gods." Strabo, l. xiii. p. 595.

[51] Dion. Sueton. Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 42.

army remained unbroken, and firm in allegiance. The intelligence roused him from his stupor: he sent the orders which we have above mentioned to his troops; and, after an easy reconcilement with Cleopatra through the interposition of her female attendants, he separated from her to sail towards Cyrené, which he had committed to the government of Pinarius, and allowed the queen to return in all the lying pomp of victory to Alexandria, lest the truth, if made known to her subjects, should prevent her admission into that harbour. The artifice of Cleopatra succeeded; but Antony's hopes in Pinarius were disappointed. That governor refused all connection with him, and shortly afterwards surrendered the Pentapolis, with four legions, to Cornelius Gallus, whom Octavius, while he prepared for invading Egypt on the side of Pelusium, sent to take possession of its rich western dependancy. Excluded from Cyrené, Antony joined Cleopatra in Alexandria, from whence he sailed to Parætonium, to secure that principal Egyptian strong-hold on the side of the Pentapolis. But Gallus, with Pinarius's legions, had anticipated his design; and when Antony, in hopes of causing defection among troops who had formerly worn his name on their shields, rashly ventured into the harbour, most of his ships were burnt or sunk, after being grappled by a chain, skilfully prepared under water, for their obstruction.

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[50] Dion. p. 448, 449.

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Antony's mean submissions and unseasonable provocations. Olymp. clxxxvii. 3. B. C. 30.

Meanwhile Octavius advanced on the side of Pelusium. Both Antony and Cleopatra plied him with abject embassies: Antony sent to him in bonds Turullius, a Roman senator, and one of Cæsar's murderers. Cleopatra presented him with a crown and sceptre[53], and gave orders to Seleucus, her governor in Pelusium, to open the gates of that strong city.[54] These late submissions could be productive of nothing but contempt; those who made them had contracted guilt too deep to be forgiven. Antony was now a prey to all the agitations and distractions incident to the fiercest minds under the most tormenting circumstances. At times, he shut himself up in his Timonium, a tower which he so named from Timon, the notorious hater of human-kind: returning again from this solitude, he would relapse into his usual intemperance, and endeavour to forget his cares in wild revelry. In a paroxism of this phrensy he invested with the manly gown Cæsarion, Cleopatra's son by Julius Cæsar, that he might thus leave behind him a dangerous rival to Octavius. Cæsarion paid the forfeit of this mad provocation, as well as Antyllus, Antony's elder son by Fulvia, who had been joined with that ill-fated youth in the same extravagant ceremony. Antony's other children survived him; and three[55] of his descendants by Octavia, were raised to the empire.

[53] Dion. p. 447.

[54] Plutarch. in Anton.

[55] Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. Plutarch. in Anton. et Sueton. in Cæsar.

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Proceedings of Cleopatra — her treachery to Antony.

At the approach of Cæsar to Pelusium, Antony sallied with his horse from Alexandria, and defeated an advanced party of the invaders, fatigued with their long march. Transported at the return of good fortune, with which he had long been unacquainted, he hastened back to the palace, embraced Cleopatra in armour, and presented to her one of his horsemen who had most distinguished himself in the engagement. This horseman deserted that same evening to the enemy.[56] Amidst the terrors of approaching invasion, the chief care of Cleopatra had been to save the royal treasury accumulated by her depredations at home and abroad. For this purpose, she at first intended to embark with her riches on the Red Sea, and to form an establishment in some remote part of the eastern world, beyond the reach of the Roman arms. But the vessels which in this view she transported across the Isthmus of Suez, were burned by the Nabathæan Arabs, at the instigation of Didius, now Octavius's governor in Syria.[57] The next anxiety of Cleopatra had been to make her peace with the conqueror, who, on his part, was solicitous to possess himself of her treasures to content his soldiers, and of her person to adorn his triumph. To secure both, he had flattered her with hopes of forgiveness. By this time she had provided a mausoleum, adjacent to the royal palace. It was a tower of great solidity, and the entrance so contrived, that when shut within, it could

[56] Plutarch. in Anton.

[57] Dion Cassius, p. 447.

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not by any ordinary means be opened from without. The upper part of it was yet unfinished. Into this sepulchral monument she had deposited her treasures, purposing to follow, if necessary, in person. To obtain pardon from the conqueror, there was not any treachery that she was unwilling to practise against his rival, who had lost the world for her sake. Antony had got ready his fleet and army for a new battle. The fleet, by Cleopatra's orders[58], struck; the cavalry deserted; and the infantry, being defeated, fled with trepidation into the city.

His death.

Cleopatra, with two women and a eunuch, now shut herself up in the mausoleum, causing a report to be sent to Antony that she was dead. He rushed forth, desiring a slave retained for that purpose to kill him; the slave plunged the dagger into his own breast. Antony then stabbed himself. The uproar occasioned by this catastrophe brought Cleopatra to the top of her mausoleum. The sight of the queen, reported to be dead, excited new surprise. Antony directed his eyes towards the sepulchral monument, into which, while he bled to death, he was hoisted by the machinery at hand for raising the materials necessary to complete the edifice. Cleopatra, in whose arms he expired, caused the event with all speed to be communicated to Octavius; but remained in the mausoleum until she should receive farther assurances of safety.

Octavius sent to her Proculeius a Roman

[58] Dion. p. 449.

knight, and Epaphroditus a freedman, who, while they yet talked of terms, contrived, by a mixture of force and persuasion, to make her remove with them into the palace. There, she was treated as a queen; had her apartments and her attendants; and speedily received a message that Octavius was coming to visit her. She expected this honour, and was accordingly well prepared for it. She was clothed in mourning, the dress which most became her: her chamber was adorned with busts and figures of Julius Cæsar: she was surrounded by his papers and memorials, and held a bundle of letters from him in her hand. At the approach of his son, she rose blushing, accosted him as lord and master, "titles which the gods," she said, "had taken from herself; yet Cæsar had declared her queen of Egypt, and thought nothing too lofty for her, as the letters which she tendered bore proof." She then threw herself before the images of Cæsar, and expressed her fond adorations in those accents and attitudes which displayed to the best advantage the charms of her voice and person. "Alas! what are Cæsar's letters to me! Why did I survive Cæsar!" Again she would chide her sorrow: "Why do I lament the father who revives in you, his son!" All her arts and allurements were thrown away on Octavius, who coldly exhorted her to be of good courage. She continued to be treated respectfully, was allowed to pay the customary honours to the remains of Antony; but being apprised of the design of carrying her in a few days to Rome, contrived to

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Octavius visits Cleopatra.

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withdraw herself from the shame of appearing as a captive in that city where she had formerly domineered with such imperious pride.[59] Epaphroditus, who attended her, was dismissed with a letter to Cæsar, which expressed her exultation at the defeat of his relentless purpose.[60]

Her death.

Meanwhile the queen destroyed herself with the assistance of her women, Eiros and Charmion. A wound in her arm was the only violence that appeared on her person, leaving it doubtful whether she died from the bite of an asp, or the puncture of a poisoned instrument.[61] Her loftinesss accompanied her to the last. She reposed on a couch of state, was royally attired, and her head encircled with the diadem. Eiros lay dead before her couch: Charmion was ready to expire, but seeing the diadem ready to drop from her mistress's head, made an effort to adjust it gracefully.[62]

Octavius's arrangements in Egypt. Olymp. clxxxvii. 3. B. C. 30.

By the ruin of Antony and Cleopatra, Octavius was master, without any capitulation, of Alexandria and all Egypt. He entered the market-place, accompanied by Areius, a Platonic philosopher, and a native of Alexandria, with whom he had long lived in confidential friendship. The citizens were addressed in a Greek oration, removing all apprehensions with regard to the safety of their persons, which, by the laws of war, lay at the disposal of the conqueror; but intimating that they must compensate for

[59] See above, c. xxix.

[60] Dion. p. 450. et seq. Conf. Plutarch. in Anton.

[61] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795. [62] Id. ibid.

this forbearance by large sacrifices of property. Two thirds of their fortunes were demanded; and this enormous exaction should seem to have extended to the wealthy classes all over Egypt: for soon after the reduction of that country, the price of lands doubled at Rome, and the interest of money was reduced to a third of its former rate.[63] Both changes, however, must have been owing, in part, to the greater security of all kinds of property, after an end had been put to the civil war, and indeed to all those dangerous wars which threatened either the head of the empire or any of its essential members. An object of the utmost importance to the conqueror was the facility with which the riches of Egypt enabled him to gratify his legions. This resource he determined to retain entirely in his own hands, for which purpose he appointed a prefect amenable only to himself, and chosen not from the senatorian, but from the more humble equestrian order.[64] The first prefect was Cornelius Gallus: he commanded about 18,000 men, who were distributed in cohorts on the frontiers, and in the principal strong-holds of the country. The civil government, particularly the concerns of the revenue, belonged to intendants and judges accountable to Octavius only: his freedmen, indeed, were entrusted with affairs of the greatest importance, as well as of the most trivial

[63] Dion. p. 459.

[64] Tacit. Histor. l. i. c. 11. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 797 Arrian. de Exped. Alexand. l. iii. c. 5. Dion. p. 455.

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nature.[65] To the contemptible Ptolemy Auletes, Egypt paid annually in money[66] 12,500 talents: this sum greatly augmented under the vigilant government of Octavius. The annual contributions in corn amounted to 20 millions of Roman modii[67] sufficient for the supply of Rome during *four* months.[68]

Confirmed dominion of Augustus.

The short war against Antony, thus, not only gave to Octavius a new division of the empire, but made him more absolute than formerly at Rome. His eastern acquisitions are not to be estimated by the present deplorable condition of those countries. The extinction of enemies enabled him to diminish his army; but when his military establishment may be computed at 250,000 men, and his revenues at twenty millions sterling, the countries east of the Hadriatic defrayed half the subsistence of the one, and paid more than half the amount of the other.[69] In point of ornament, their contributions were still more conspicuous; for after the loss of national independence, the Greeks, in subordinate governments, long retained a semblance of their equal laws and admirable education, their gymnastic exercises and pompous festivals, the acuteness

[65] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 798.

[66] Strabo, ibid. The sum is equivalent to 2,421,875*l.*

[67] 625,000 quarters; almost the precise number consumed *annually* in London.

[68] Publius Victor. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16. Conf. Lipsius de Magnitud. Roman, ii. 10.

[69] Conf. Dion. Cassius, l. lv. p. 564. Joseph. Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 16. Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 5. & Lipsius de Magnitud. Roman, i. 4.

of their juridical pleadings, and the graceful majesty of their demonstrative and deliberative eloquence. The theatre was all their own, the best plays of the Romans being mere translations. In the arts of design, they were pre-eminent; and in criticism and ethics, in taste and philosophy, their supreme authority was acknowledged by the learned of all nations, and particularly by the Romans, who should seem never to have suspected, what has sometimes happened in the ignorance of latter times, that the scholars would be preferred to the masters, the copies to the originals. From the admiration, indeed, of the Romans, for Grecian models, and their respectful docility in letters, arts, and even in manners, the capital of their empire, long before its translation to Constantinople, was in some measure converted into a Greek city. But the provinces of the East and West were alike governed by the sword. They had not any national force, nor any legitimate freedom, and felt not the influence of any principle either of reason or custom operating in behalf of the subject. Their religion had become a vile superstition; their morals were without sanction; and their governments without constitution. They had been the property of the republic; and now, with the republic itself, became the property of a master. In this manner, flourishing commonwealths and once powerful kingdoms passed under the sole dominion of Octavius Cæsar, surnamed Augustus, a title, expressive of every

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thing at once good and great; mighty in power or sacred in character.[70]

Its effects.

Four centuries of imperial despotism succeeded, during which, both the victors and vanquished gradually ceased to act from the impulse of their own minds, and thereby totally lost all elevation and energy. Beyond the Euphrates, the Parthians, indeed, defied the Roman arms: towards the Danube, the limits of Roman dominion could be adjusted with the Thracians and Illyrians only by the sword and pilum. In the country between the Rhine and the Weser, the destruction of Varus and his three legions taught Augustus that the former of these rivers was the safer boundary[71]; his expeditions conducted by Ælius Gallus, and Petronius[72] to Arabia and Ethiopia above Egypt, proved so unprofitable or so disastrous, that no conquest on that side was ever afterwards attempted. But in the countries of the East and West, which we have seen successively reduced into provinces, though there happened occasional insurrections, there were no longer any formidable wars: and even these insurrections were excited, not by the hope of emancipation, but by the intolerable smart of suffering. Four years before the death of Augustus, Bato the Dalmatian, when

[70] The title of Augustus was conferred four years after the battle of Actium, by the senate and people, ὡς και πλειον τι η κατα ανθρωπους ων, &c. Dion. l. liii. p. 507.

[71] Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 61. Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 117

[72] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 780. et seq. Conf. Dion. l. liii. p. 51 et l. liv. p. 524.

asked why he had rebelled against Rome, replied boldly and truly; "you Romans affect to treat all nations as your flocks and as your property, but you entrust the care of them to ravenous wolves, not to shepherds and their dogs."[73] CHAP. XXX.

Augustus, however, was the father of Rome, meaning thereby the capital of the Roman empire. He expended to the amount of eleven millions sterling in embellishing that city, which, having received it of brick, he bequeathed to his successors of marble: its citizens were gratified to the full in their passion for public shows; and 200,000 of them were supported by gratuitous distributions of corn. Recommended by such indulgences, an usurper, who ruled by the sword, kept only three cohorts, not 2000 men, in his capital[74]; and the merits of this politic and peaceful reign were emblazoned by the fine writers whom the prince and his minister Mæcenas alike cherished. These writers descended to them from the tumultuary civil wars, when the principles wound up in the republic had not yet spent their force; for a government absolute and military was not calculated to increase their number, or even to perpetuate their Glory of his reign.

[73] Dion Cassius, l. lv. p. 570. The barbarous Dacians, and then despised Britons, were afterwards added to the catalogue of Roman provincials. The empire, however, was not benefited by extension beyond the Danube: and its greatest vigour in point both of arts and arms, coincided with the reign of Augustus. But the illustration of this topic belongs not to my present subject.

[74] ...que tamen uni ... plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus, easque sine casti... Sueton. Cæs. Octav. c. 49.

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succession.[75] The decline in taste and talents was accelerated by the unworthiness of the immediately following emperors, through whose tyranny, the more liberal portion of their subjects, being deprived of all independence and dignity, became insensible to those motives, and obtuse to those feelings most propitious to high attainments in arts and letters; and essential, as it should seem, to works, either of reason or fancy, stamped with real excellence, and destined to immortal fame.

His vassal kingdoms — and nominally free cities.

The reduction of Egypt into a province, 302 years after its conquest by Alexander, completed the long series of triumphs gained over Greeks in all divisions of the world. Through the interposition, as we have seen, of the Parthians, by whom the eastern portion of the Macedonian empire had been subdued, the legions, however, were intercepted[76] in their progress to India, a

[75] Postquam bellatum apud Actium, atque omnem potestatem ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere. Tacit. Histor. l. i. c. 1.

[76] The Romans did not always respect the Euphrates, their boundary with the Parthians. Trajan, An. Dom. 106. over-ran many countries east of that river; and his historians vainly boasted that he was approaching the confines of India. Eutrop. Breviar. l. viii. p. 113. Conf. Xiphilin. in Trajan. But the eastern conquests of Trajan were prudently resigned by his successor Hadrian in the first year of his reign, A. D. 117. Eutrop. Breviar. l. viii. p. 114. Half a century after this resignation, the war with the Parthians was renewed, A. D. 162. in the reign of the admired M. Antoninus; and ended, A. D. 165. with the sack of Seleucia, and the treacherous murder of 400,000 persons belonging to that Greek colony. Conf. Eutrop. Breviar. l. viii. p. 116. Jul. Capitolin. p. 151. Dion. i. lxxi. p. 802. How different was Alexander's treatment of the Babylonians! See above, vol. i. p. 272. et seqq.

country abounding in productions not only of peculiar value, but, in pagan times, of indispensable use. Had the maxims of the Romans been more favourable to commerce, they would therefore have wanted power to repair those links of communication, to restore those temples, factories, and emporia, through which the central regions of Asia had been improved and adorned by Alexander. Their national pride still further disqualified them from reviving his liberal institutions and impartial laws, and thereby introducing among the nations of Asia, together with an easy intercourse in commerce, a reciprocity in sentiment and affection, a community of rights and interests.[77] A policy chiefly military was their highest boast; and conformably with its dictates, after they had degraded into provinces Macedon, Pergamus, Cyrené, Syria, and Egypt, they still permitted tributary kings to reign in Cappadocia, Armenia, Bosporus, Judæa, and Mauritania. These vassal kingdoms appeared to them fit appendages to their warlike greatness; out-posts, as it were, and feelers on the side of distant and dangerous frontiers; but all of them, as well as the five hundred Greek republics on the coast of Asia, many of which were also

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[77] See in Dion. p. 455. Augustus's harsh, and to Egyptians impious answer concerning the god Apis. Yet, in sound policy, Augustus was not equalled, surely not surpassed, by any of his successors. The oppression of the provinces in the century after him is keenly arraigned by Juvenal, (Satyr. viii. v. 90. et seq.)

Ossa vides regum vacuis exsucta medullis, &c.

and confirmed by the evidence of all contemporary history.

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flattered with the name of independence [78], alike unconditionally obeyed the stern mandates of Rome. [79]

Causes of the extinction of the Greek kingdoms.

The present work having continued and completed my "history of Ancient Greece, its colonies and conquests," will naturally lead the reader to contrast the wretched misery of the Greeks under the Roman yoke, with the happiness and dignity which they might have secured through better management, in other words, by a strict adherence to their primary institutions. [80] Many of their kingdoms enjoyed inestimable advantages in point of situation and of climate: they were disciplined by laws, adorned by arts, and well fortified by arms. But into the heart of states, externally specious and blooming, the contagion of Asiatic manners introduced disease and rottenness. Limitations to royal power were abolished: and kings being acknowledged absolute, and declared sacred, while the invaluable discovery of acting by responsible ministers was unknown, the condition of the people was left to depend on the

[78] Αυτονομια, Cicero adopts the word, but shows how improper it was in the mouth of a Roman, when he says to his brother Quintus, proconsul in Asia, "in istis urbibus cum summo imperio ac potestate versaris," and again, "in eos quos tuæ fidei, &c. Senatus populusque Romanus commisit." Conf. Salust. Bell. Catalin. c. 10. & c. 12. For the tyranny exercised over Greek cities, see Cicero ad Attic. l. vi. Epist. 1.

[79] Αι πεντακοσιοι της Ασιας πολεις : : ἑνα προσκυνησι ἡγεμονα, και τας ὑπατικας ῥαβδους. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16.

[80] See above, vol. i. p. 41. vol. ii. 352. Conf. Isocrat. Areopagit. and History of Ancient Greece, Part I. particularly c. ii. iii. xi. xiii.

personal character of the sovereign. But how little, either of wisdom or of valour, could be expected from princes moulded in the haram, and whose tender years had been entrusted to emasculated slaves, or to women without estimation? Exalted by fortune, but destitute of inherent worth, such kings could not fail to shrink from the contact of either ability or virtue. Their persons could only be approached, and their authority only shared, by flatterers and favourites, called ministers, for whom it was impossible to feel respect, and from whom it would have been preposterous to fear shame. Judges and generals, and other officers, civil and military, exhibited characters analogous to those of their employers, compensating for the servility by which they had obtained power, by the insolence with which they exercised it. Profligacy and oppression on the part of government, naturally engendered in the subject, hypocrisy, fraud, indolence, cowardice; in a word, all those vices by which states are assailed from within, and prepared for sure and swift destruction from without. Accordingly, of the only European dynasty that ever bore sway throughout the central regions of Asia, the whole spirit evaporated in the course of little more than a century, and precisely at that crisis when its safety was most endangered by the power of the Romans in the West, and by that of the Parthians in the East. Careless of these formidable enemies, the unworthy heirs to the bold Macedonian captains, while they continued to build

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baths and theatres, suffered their fortresses and arsenals to moulder in decay; and instead of national armies, which might have proved more dangerous to domestic, than to foreign, enemies, their whole strength consisted in mercenaries, maintained at extravagant expence, and indulged in the wildest disorders. Polluted by incestuous marriages, torn by family dissensions, distracted by parricidal murders, idolised by courtiers, and abominated by the public, they perished just victims to their own age, and awful warnings to posterity.

State of the Greek commonwealths in their neighbourhood.

Amidst the last and vilest abasement of the Greek kingdoms, some cities or republics in their neighbourhood still exhibited examples of manhood and of patriotism. Occasions occur on which these cities afforded the promise of such firmness in federal union, as might have secured their own independence, and thereby have gradually diffused their liberality and ingenuity among surrounding nations. That this never took place, cannot be ascribed to ignorance or inexperience with regard to representative government, of which we have seen conspicuous examples among the Amphictyons, the Ionians, the Lycians, the Sicilians, and the Achæans; not to mention that the Arcadian republic of Mantinæa, which communicated its laws to the Greek colonies in Africa, employed delegates of delegates; that is, a double representation. It may be thought that the prospect of such a confederacy was blasted, rather through the want of ready communication, and

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the difficulty of giving seasonable impulses to the public mind on critical and important emergencies. [81] We have shown, however, in the preceding history, how correspondence was carried on by a symbolic character among the Pythagoreans, and maintained among innumerable temples and emporiums in the three divisions of the ancient world. What advantages, in a political point of view, might have been derived from this and other expedients, particularly signals by fire and telegraphs [82], which were well understood in Greece and more eastern countries, it is not easy to ascertain: they were all of them greatly inferior to the modern invention of printing. But there is another invention, which should seem to have been kindly withheld, as far as concerned the safety of free cities. Before the discovery of gunpowder, walls, manfully defended, set at defiance the strongest armies: and though recourse was often had to blockade, yet as corn might be long preserved in most climates inhabited by Greeks, great magazines of it were generally provided by every community zealous for freedom. The security, thereby enjoyed, made such cities the safest asylums, both for persons and pro-

[81] The destruction of Greek confederacies has been ascribed to their want of representative government and of printing, their want of posts and resident ambassadors, &c. &c.; but the greatest of all their wants was a strange defect in point of probity; a certain measure, at least, of which, and of the other three cardinal virtues being essential to the safety of communities and individuals. Aristot. Politic. l. vii. c. 1.

[82] See above, vol. iii. p. 126.

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perty. With the little republic of Priené, Olophernes of Cappadocia entrusted part of his great treasures, which, at his need, was faithfully restored to him. Demetrius Soter sent his two sons to Cnidus, at the moment when he was in danger of losing his life and kingdom. The friends of Seleucus Philopator resided securely at Miletus, after their master's throne had been usurped by the blood-thirsty Antiochus Epiphanes. The Egyptian Arsinöe, rival to Cleopatra, found protection in Ephesus. The present history presents innumerable facts of this kind; and attests also, as might naturally be expected, that the same republican colonies which extended their concern to persecuted strangers, deposed kings, or disgraced ministers, often displayed the noblest warmth in defence of each other: witness the generous assistance to the Chians by Pontic Heraclæa, when these islanders had provoked the rage of Mithridates; and the firm interposition of Massilia in behalf of the Phocæans, when this people had exasperated Rome, by abetting the pretensions of Andronicus to the throne of Pergamus.[83] Examples of patriotism and prowess not unworthy of the best ages of Greece, occur in the times immediately contiguous to the dominion of the Cæsars. The citizens of Xanthus in Lycia perished to a man, rather than obey the cruel requisitions of the conspirator Brutus. By the assistance of Greek

[83] All the facts alluded to, are recorded above, in their proper places.

sailors, Sextus Pompey, master only of Sicily, defied the triumvirs with their forty-five legions: his naval descents made the coasts of Italy untenable: he compelled his adversaries to share with him their emoluments and highest honours, and might have maintained this ascendency, had not his imperious temper provoked and alienated the Greek captains in his service.

Causes of their ruin.

Yet, notwithstanding particular instances of vigour, maladies, defying remedy, afflicted the Greeks in all parts of the world. Without any convulsion of the elements, or any resistless invasion of desolating Barbarians, they had declined in circumstances, and degenerated in character, through the inevitable canker of corroding time, and that unhappy restlessness inseparable from man, and which, however counteracted by wise discipline, perpetually impels him to prefer novelty to excellence. During their heroic royalties, the Greeks had been chiefly governed by religion; in the manhood of their republics, they acknowledged, also the authority of equal laws; but amidst the dregs of later times, they became the sport of opinions and fashions which set religion and laws at defiance. In addition to this universal and incurable mischief, a peculiar virulence had early infected their maritime republics, stretching above 1600 miles along the western coast of Asia, and which cannot be estimated at a populousness of less than five millions.[84] When communities, inured to arts

[84] Cos is called a small city, though it contained from 5000 to to 10,000 Greek inhabitants. Conf. Strabo. l. xix. p. 657. & Arrian.

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and industry, grow up in the vicinity of barbarous or savage nations, they may long preserve, unimpaired, their characteristic excellencies; but when similar establishments are formed in countries already civilised and corrupted, the colonists are found by experience too easily to degenerate into natives. The latter was the case with the Greek settlements on the coast of Asia. Phrygians, Lydians, and Syrians were their neighbours; nations noted for voluptuousness, vanity, and perfidy. This contagion is said to have passed from Lesser Asia into Achaia, and to have prepared that once virtuous commonwealth for reduction into the form of a province; at which era the Achæans are branded by their own historians, as men whose integrity the smallest temptation could vanquish, and whose frauds neither shame nor fear could restrain.[85] But, without a certain measure at least of good faith, what confederacy can be upheld, what national struggle was ever successfully maintained? — Thus did the growing dishonesty of the Greeks, the proud tyranny of the Romans, the barbarous despotism of the Parthians and all succeeding Asiatic dynasties[86], conspire to defeat

Exped. Alexand. l. v. c. 20. and my Introduction to Lysias, &c. p. 6. Taking the medium of populousness at 10,000, and limiting the number of cities to the 500 in Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16. their collective population will amount to 5,000,000.

[85] Conf. Cicero Orat. pro Flacco. et Polybius, l. vi. c. 56.

[86] The revived empire of the Persians succeeded to that of the Parthians, A. D. 226. Agathias, l. ii. p. 63. and was destroyed with its last king Jezdegird, by the Arabs, A. D. 651. Abulpharagius,

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the sanguine hopes concerning the improvement of the eastern world, that had been entertained by Alexander, and by him partly realised. In *his* military *chlamys*[87] Pompey gloried to triumph: Augustus spared Alexandria for the sake of its founder[88]: his life was read by Trajan[89], as his statue had been contemplated by Cæsar[90], with a sigh of humbled ambition. All conquerors admired Alexander; but none ever united the will and the power to imitate his example.

Compend. Dynast. p. 116. Conf. D'Herbelot. Artic. Jezdegird. From that time forward, the great central regions of southern Asia have been governed by successive dynasties of Arabs and Tartars down to the present times.

[87] This chlamys Pompey acquired at Talaura among the spoils of Mithridates. Appian. Mithridat. & Plut. in Pompeio.

[88] Dion Cassius, l. li. p. 454. [89] Julian. Cæsares, p. 850.

[90] Sueton. in J. Cæsar. c. 7. Conf. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 594. Καισαρ φιλαλεξανδρος ων, &c.

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